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AUTHOR Phillips, David; And Others
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ABSTRACT

This report describes the main questions that various international agencies must address in order to reconstruct education in countries that have experienced crisis. "Crisis" is defined as war, natural disaster, and extreme political and economic upheaval. Many of the problems of educational reconstruction with which the Allies contended in Germany after World War II are currently mirrored in postconflict situations today. There is the need to plan adequately for the human and physical resources that would be required; to purge the teaching force of people with unsuitable political involvement; to encourage democratic processes while not appearing to impose such processes; to develop new teaching styles and materials; and to create a climate in which longer-term reform might be possible. The report focuses on the restoration of physical aspects (buildings, facilities, water and electric sources, and environmental safety); ideology (democratic processes); psychological well-being; education materials and curriculum; human resources; and the development of survival and lifelong skills. The report describes the organizational framework for reconstruction used by UNESCO's Unit for Educational Rehabilitation and Reconstruction at the national, local, and institutional levels. Appendices contain case studies of reconstruction efforts in Bosnia and Rwanda. (LMI)

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EDUCATION FOR RECONSTRUCTION

REPORT

for the

Overseas Development Administration

Prepared by

Nina Arnhold
Julia Bekker
Natasha Kersh
Elizabeth McLeish
David Phillips (Team Leader)

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REPORT

EDUCATION FOR RECONSTRUCTION

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This report is conceived as a mapping exercise which will attempt to describe the main questions that need to be addressed by the various agencies concerned with processes of reconstruction in countries that have experienced crisis of various kinds.

For the purposes of the report we have defined 'crisis' in terms of:

- war
- natural disaster
- extreme political and economic upheaval

It will not always be possible, however, to deal with the needs of educational reconstruction in a crisis-specific way, since all those major forms of crisis identified here will result in problems for education which cannot easily be differentiated as between forms of crisis.

1.1 War

'War' in our context may take the form of:

- inter-country belligerence
- civil war
- ethnic and religious conflict

Inter-country belligerence is likely to leave an aftermath of physical destruction, displacement of population and disruption to governmental and administrative machinery that will inevitably have the most extreme consequences for educational provision. In many cases the normal processes of education will have ceased - as, for example, in Germany after the Second World War. Civil war (intra-country conflict) - as in the case of the former Yugoslavia or the Lebanon - might result in widespread physical destruction and disruption to normal state provision of services in much the same way as inter-country conflict will. The main difference will lie in the problem of long-term

intra-country hostility that will persist even after political settlement. Ethnic and religious conflict, which might not develop to the extent of full civil war, will leave often irreconcilable differences which - as in the aftermath of civil war - will have serious consequences for educational provision.

1.2 Natural Disasters

'Natural disasters' will include:

- drought
- famine
- floods
- earthquakes
- rapid spread of disease

Often such disasters will be inter-related. Thus famine results from drought; floods produce disease. Some countries will be well equipped to deal with the consequences of disaster (Japan, for example); others will have few or no resources for coping (Ethiopia, Sudan). In the context of education the main problems will lie in health and welfare provision, though there will also be problems consequent upon the interruption of lines of communication, possible decimation or dispersal of the teaching force, and physical destruction. As in the case of war and its aftermath, much educational provision will take place in temporary conditions of various kinds - in emergency camps, for example.

1.3 Extreme Political and Economic Upheaval

Such 'upheaval' - of which there have been many examples in recent years - will result from:

- revolution
- other forms of rapid political change
- sudden economic collapse

Here too there is inter-relationship: revolution will often result in economic collapse; economic collapse might cause rapid political change. Educational provision will in most situations suffer severe uncertainty and pass through transitional processes which will be very complex and of

variable duration.¹ Though it might be argued that all education systems are at any time in some state of transition, we can identify - when we speak of the 'countries in transition' - a number of countries which are clearly passing from a state of autocratic/authoritarian control to various conditions of liberal democracy. Such countries include the former Eastern bloc states, the countries belonging to the former Soviet Union, and South Africa.

1.4 Structure of the Report

In what follows we shall focus on educational reconstruction in its various manifestations:

- Physical reconstruction
- Ideological reconstruction
- Psychological reconstruction
- Provision of materials and curricular reconstruction
- Human resources
- Population and demography

Within each of these headings we shall aim to deal with a number of issues exemplified by particular countries. In some cases we shall wish to refer to more detailed coverage appended in supplementary texts or as case studies. A detailed bibliography is also included.

¹ The literature of educational transition is vast. A useful introductory text is César Birzea: Educational Policies of the Countries in Transition, Strasbourg (Council of Europe Press) 1994. The team that has produced this present report has recently been involved in examining processes of transition in South Africa, Latvia and Germany.

1.5 Educational Reconstruction

When the Allies occupied Germany after the Second World War they were faced with a situation where activity in education had ceased, where physical destruction (particularly in the cities) was of an unprecedented dimension, and where the population was suffering enormous material hardship. There was no residual government that could be mobilised to help. The Allies had complete control.

They had had the advantage, however, of being able to plan for the exercising of this control, once it became clear that an unconditional surrender of all German forces was being aimed for. Personnel were trained, as far as war-time conditions would allow, in an embryonic Education Branch of the Control Commission as the Allied armies advanced. This meant that some of the problems eventually faced 'on the ground' could be anticipated and that certain broad decisions could be taken. Thus, for example, it was possible to draw up lists (black, grey, white) of people whose degree of involvement with the Nazi Party would make their continuation in office more or less problematic. Thus too some preparation could begin in London on textbook revision, anticipating the setting-up of the textbook section of Education Branch in Germany in July 1945. Thus a handbook could be written to assist officers of Education Branch once they began to arrive in Germany.

In terms of educational reconstruction the situation in Germany after the War is a special but very instructive case. Many of the problems the Allies had to contend with are mirrored today in post-conflict situations in countries throughout the world. Among them were:

- the need to plan adequately for the human and physical resources that would be required
- the need to purge the teaching force of people whose political involvement would make them unsuitable for any role in the reconstruction process
- the need to encourage democratic processes while not appearing to impose such processes
- the need to develop new teaching styles and materials
- the need to create a climate in which longer-term reform might be possible

Some of these problems are particularly difficult, especially where they impinge on ideological considerations. Removing 'unsuitable' teachers and administrators is fraught with difficulty. The Western Allies in the case of Germany quickly handed over 'denazification' to the Germans and thereby avoided charges of prejudice and unfairness themselves.

In the territory of the former German Democratic Republic following Unification, processes of 'evaluation' of the teaching force have led to widespread dismissal or non-renewal, with the consequential charges of unfair treatment that such processes evoke. The encouragement from outside of democratic processes in education systems which are widely accepted elsewhere is also not without difficulty. At one Four Power meeting in Berlin after the War the British representative remarked that the only way to reconcile different interpretations of democracy was to define it as what four Powers could agree to inflict on a fifth. But 'inflicting' procedures in the context of a policy of democratisation is highly questionable. Michael Balfour has described the dilemma succinctly: 'The British were very conscious of the fact that the faith which they wished to propagate involved a disbelief in the value of imposing faiths by order.'² And this must be one of the first lessons for any forces or other agencies involved with the reconstruction of an education system in another country: the power and influence that such involvement brings - through financial support, much sought-after and otherwise unobtainable advice, or various forms of legal or legalistic authority - must be exercised with great caution and sensitivity, and with proper deference to local conditions and traditions. This applies both to short-term and to long-term development.

1.6 The Organisational Framework of Reconstruction

UNESCO's Unit for Educational Rehabilitation and Reconstruction speaks of reconstruction as a 'more or less protracted process' with short-, medium- and long-term aspects. Emergency programmes, concerned with basic requirements needed to get education systems working again, respond to 'the most urgent needs, both for the infrastructural and material and for the human component'.³ Priorities must be determined at this stage, as efforts will be directed towards basic needs. Even here, UNESCO argues, reconstruction 'must not be carried out piecemeal, but must be carefully thought out and planned'. The example of Germany after the War is relevant

² Michael Balfour & John Mair, Four-Power Control in Germany and Austria, London, 1956, p.230.

³ UNESCO, 'Reconstruction of Education Systems', Unit for Educational Rehabilitation and Reconstruction, n.d.

inasmuch as it demonstrates the advantages of planning, even if only in rudimentary form. Agencies concerned with reconstruction should ideally be formulating plans for intervention in education long before it is possible to put an emergency programme in place.

For the medium and longer term UNESCO speaks of a 'reconstruction Master Plan for the education system' which will emerge from a needs analysis based on various 'dimensions' or 'components':

- environmental
- organisational
- infrastructural
- material and financial
- human
- institutional
- pedagogical
- curricular

Effective planning for all aspects of educational reconstruction and capacity building will depend on organisational frameworks at national, local and institutional levels. The extent of the organisational infrastructure on which development can be based will of course differ considerably among the countries emerging from conflict and upheaval of various kinds. In some cases, as with Germany after the Second World War, national and local government will have collapsed; in others, such as Ethiopia, Rwanda or the countries of the Caucasus, governmental agencies will be to various degrees undependable or inexperienced - as far as the tasks of educational reconstruction are concerned. Some countries, such as Bosnia-Herzegovina and South Africa, have had to adjust their educational administration to new political structures.⁴ Particular administrative problems arise where there is a geographical division under the same educational authority, as in the case of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank in Palestine, where an Egyptian curriculum has been followed in the territory of the Gaza Strip and a Jordanian curriculum in the West Bank.⁵

⁴ In Bosnia it is anticipated that each canton will come under its own ministry of education, with a reduced role for a federal ministry (currently only Tuzla has its own cantonal ministry) (John L. Yeager and Michel Rakotomanana, 'Initiating a Program in Educational Policy and Planning in a Nation in Crisis: The Case of Bosnia-Herzegovina', paper presented at the 40th Annual Meeting of the Comparative and International Education Society, Williamsburg, VA, (6-10 March, 1996); in South Africa, new ministries of education are in place in the nine newly constructed provinces.

⁵ Curricula and textbooks were subjected to censorship by the Israeli authorities.

National Level

External agencies intending to provide support for educational reconstruction will expect wherever possible to consult and liaise with national ministries of education. However, some financial aid will have to be directed towards local or institutional development and will therefore not necessarily be channelled through government bodies at the national level. This will be of particular importance in countries where corruption is known to be rife, though this is not to say that such problems only exist at national level.

Some international agencies endeavour to support the government in order to strengthen the framework necessary for the provision and distribution of aid. However, some governments have, for various reasons, initially refused to grant access to those seeking to provide humanitarian assistance.⁶ The establishment of a working partnership at national level remains in most instances highly desirable, even in the case of occupation of a belligerent country by allied powers.

Local Level

It is at this level that aid can more obviously be channelled directly to individual institutions and be adapted to suit local needs. UNESCO mentions 'partnerships within the country linking the different parts of the social system'⁷ as a guiding principle for intra-country promotion of 'a culture of peace' and a substantial renewal of education. Among the bodies included in UNESCO's list⁸ of those involved in reconstruction at local level are:

- local communities
- local associations and NGOs
- education authorities
- the private sector
- religious associations and institutions

⁶ For example, in Chechnya in 1995, despite repeated requests in some areas some United Nations agencies were denied cross-border access to assist civilians in besieged areas (Crosslines Global Report 1995 (Information from the Internet)).

⁷ UNESCO, 'Reconstruction of Education Systems', Unit for Educational Rehabilitation and Reconstruction, n.d.

⁸ Ibid.

All such institutions will be able to provide advice on the reconstruction process and to help to co-ordinate efforts. They will be particularly helpful, knowing the local scene as they do, in assisting with early needs analysis, and so both the organisations and their key personnel should be identified at the earliest opportunity in order that contact can be quickly established following periods of crisis.

Institutional Level

It is at the institutional level of course that the effects of efforts at reconstruction are felt most directly by teachers and pupils. Here it is important to ensure as far as possible that those in posts of responsibility are not so implicated in the original conflict as to be unsuitable to hold office, though it will not always be possible for outside agencies to control decisions about the future of those deemed to be unsuitable.

At the institutional level the support of individuals must be sought; they in turn must be supported in the various ways suggested below and encouraged to enter into partnership with those at other levels charged with policy implementation. They will be very closely involved with the most immediately urgent post-crisis task, that of physical reconstruction, to which we now turn.

2.0 PHYSICAL RECONSTRUCTION

In any post-crisis situation in education one of the most obvious and pressing needs will be to ensure that there are sufficient buildings and facilities to allow educational activities of whatever kind and at whatever level actually to take place. Here, as in many other areas to which we shall come below, we can identify both urgent immediate needs of an 'emergency' nature and longer-term needs for which planning can start even at an early stage.

2.1 Buildings

The main problem is the availability of appropriate facilities. A common outcome of crises such as war and natural disaster is the partial if not complete destruction of the physical plant, as in Germany after the Second World War.⁹ [See also Appendix I, Case Study: Bosnia] In some countries schools and universities are specific military targets, the shelling of the University of Sarajevo providing one of the most striking examples. In addition, in the confusion that follows war and upheaval those buildings still suitable for educational purposes are often appropriated for other uses. These include:

- military purposes
- general administrative and civil use
- shelter for refugees and displaced persons

The situation is often further exacerbated by widespread destruction as a result of civil upheaval, as in the case of Iraq where 5,500 (40 per cent) of the educational institutions were destroyed during and following the hostilities of the Gulf War, with military action being responsible in hundreds of cases, but most of the damage in fact caused by looting and vandalism.¹⁰

⁹ 'In Munich [. . .], only one third of the classrooms that had existed in 1939 remained. In Württemberg-Baden over a quarter of the classrooms had been either totally or partially destroyed or requisitioned for other essential purposes; of some 1,500 school buildings 205 were similarly unavailable. In Cologne some 92% of the schools had been destroyed or severely damaged. In Berlin 149 school buildings had been destroyed and 36 heavily damaged, while a further 221 needed substantial repairs and 81 had been requisitioned, leaving only 162 available in the whole city. In Schleswig-Holstein, largely as a result of widespread requisitioning, there was only one classroom for every 123 children, where there had been one for every 37 before the war; of 1,558 pre-war *Volksschulen* only 162 could be used for teaching purposes.' (David Phillips, 'British Educational Policy in Occupied Germany: Some Problems and Paradoxes in the Control of Schools and Universities' in International Currents in Educational Ideas and Practices, ed. Peter Cunningham and Colin Brock, History of Education Society, 1988, p. 75).

¹⁰ Sue Williams, 'Iraq : Education and the Embargo', UNESCO Sources No. 49, July-August 1993.

In seeking to solve the many problems relating to buildings and their use, those responsible for emergency planning in education might find it desirable to move through four phases, as suggested by UNESCO:¹¹

- diagnosis and analysis
- research and development
- planning
- implementation

During the first of these phases a number of short-term measures can be taken:

- emergency repairs to existing buildings (especially roofing, glazing of windows, basic heating and sanitation)
- provision of temporary classrooms (including tents and prefabricated buildings)¹²
- conversion of other buildings to educational purposes (schools housed in hotels in Croatia, for example, and the use of buildings for multiple activities)
- supply of basic classroom furniture (tables, chairs and blackboards)

¹¹ 'UNESCO's Educational Buildings and Furniture Programme', Educational Spaces, No. 1, Paris, July 1989.

¹² For example, a project carried out by WVI (World Vision International) in Azerbaijan has proposed to convert shipping containers into classrooms for IDPs (internationally displaced persons) of primary and secondary school age in conflict-affected areas in the north-west of the country, as many schools in this area were seriously damaged by fighting (United Nations Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal for the Caucasus, Azerbaijan, DHA, Vol. 3, March, 1995.) WVI proposed to convert 60 empty shipping containers into 30 classrooms. Each container would provide classroom space for 16 students and the classrooms would be furnished with desks, chairs, blackboards and other necessary equipment. Emergency relief supplied by UNESCO in Bosnia involved pre-fabricated schools, one for each ethnic group, implemented via UNPROFOR, and shift schooling (Relief for Bosnian schools paid for by Germany). (Interview, UNESCO, 10 May, 1996).

As far as the longer term is concerned, plans need to be made for:

- more thorough renovation of existing buildings following detailed analysis of needs
- focus on building for more specific educational requirements (e.g. in the case of Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia recently, the reconstruction of special education institutions such as orphanages and boarding schools for physically and mentally disabled children);¹³ similarly in Ethiopia UNESCO has provided housing for rural teachers in an attempt to retain a viable teaching force¹⁴
- the sustainable development of building programmes which takes account of future reform needs¹⁵
- restoration of libraries, museums and other cultural establishments which link directly to education

¹³ UNESCO: The Caucasus in Crisis, Education For All, UNESCO, No. 15, 1994. In 1995/96 UNESCO proposed to initiate an in-depth analysis of the present conditions of such establishments and undertake essential repair of selected buildings.

¹⁴ 'UNESCO, Educational Buildings and Furniture Programme', Paris, No. 1, July 1989, Education Facilities Unit of UNESCO, p.14.

¹⁵ In the case of Rwanda UNDP and UNESCO have given assistance to a project concerned with the implementation and management of building programmes in education which has to do with improving staff competence, developing planning techniques, using local resources and producing strategies to maintain existing sites ('Education for All: Educational Buildings and Furniture', Educational Spaces, No. 2, Paris, July 1991, Educational Architecture Unit of UNESCO, p.6).

2.2 Supply of Electricity and Water

As part of the initial emergency repair programme urgent effort should be devoted to restoring or introducing power supplies. Schools and other educational establishments depend for so many of their basic activities and needs on a reliable source of electricity. In some cases of course this will not have existed before the period of crisis in question, but in many the restoration of the power supply will be an urgent necessity, not only for the functioning of teaching equipment but - more importantly perhaps - for heating, lighting¹⁶ and cooking.

Equally the restoration of a pure water supply will be of great importance, not only for purposes of basic sanitation but also because schools - as with all institutions that bring together large numbers of people - are potentially places where disease can spread if the means to ensure adequate hygiene are not readily available. Here, as in many other instances, the needs in terms of educational reconstruction cannot be divorced from the more general needs of the population in terms of health provision and care.¹⁷

¹⁶ Children in Crisis provided candle-making machines for Bosnia-Herzegovina enabling 1000 candles a day to be produced in Tuzla where in the winter of 1994 there was virtually a total blackout (Open Society News, Fall 1995/Winter 1996, p. 2).

¹⁷ The United Nations Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal for the Caucasus resolves: 'Water supply and sanitation deficiencies will be addressed in areas of high concentration of refugees and IDPs in the three countries. Rural water programmes will also be undertaken in communities which are not served, or are under-served, by the national water distribution system. Sanitation programmes will be carried out in remote villages' (United Nations, DHA, Vol. 1, March 1995, p.4). UNICEF plans to restore and develop water supply systems (repair damaged pumping stations, distribute mains and reservoirs and drill new wells) in priority provinces in Angola such as Bengu, Benguele and Kunene (UN Consolidated Appeal for Angola, May 1993, p. 33).

2.3 Environmental Safety and Security

For every 100,000 defused land-mines it is reckoned that more than two million more are laid.¹⁸ There are said to be about 110 million mines currently in existence. In most countries which have experienced conflict the presence of mines - for the most part unmapped - is a hazard of major dimension. The International Committee of the Red Cross¹⁹ estimates that some 800 people are killed by land-mines every month, 30-40 per cent of them being children under the age of fifteen.²⁰

We shall return in Section 5.4 below to the question of mine-awareness among children. At an early stage in any programme of physical reconstruction it will be essential to ensure that exhaustive attempts are made to clear areas affected by mines in the proximity of schools and on the routes to and from settlements. This is an expensive operation costing the United Nations, for example, between £250 and £750 per mine, but it must now be accommodated in planning for most post-conflict development.

Educational institutions are often the target of attack by insurgents; in some instances it will be necessary to ensure the safety of children and teachers by a protective military or police presence of some kind.²¹

18 Wolfgang Blum, 'Der Tod unter den Füßen', Die Zeit, 9.2.96, p. 33.

19 UNICEF, 20 November, 1995 (Information from the Internet)

20 In Mozambique the National Demining Commission estimates that at least forty people die and dozens of others lose limbs each month as a result of land-mine explosions (Mozambique News Agency AIM Reports, No. 75, 11 January, 1996, p. 4).

21 During the insurrection period of the mid and late eighties in South Africa teachers and schoolchildren were protected by a police and military presence in highly volatile and politicised areas such as Soweto, Alexandra, and Phola.

3.0 IDEOLOGICAL RECONSTRUCTION

Following a period of social upheaval or war, the causes of conflict need to be addressed. Ideological posturing is commonly perceived as one of the major factors which perpetuate unrest. Democratisation is seen as a major concept in reforming authoritarian, autocratic systems and the attitudes of individuals and encouraging the replacement of previous structures and values. In the context of education, this process of democratisation can be brought about in various ways.

3.1 Education for Democratisation

Various projects currently being implemented in Eastern Europe focus on fostering democratic attitudes. The Trans-European Mobility Scheme for University Studies (TEMPUS), introduced by the EC in 1990, aims to promote this by:

- enhancing the quality and development of higher education in Eastern Central Europe
- encouraging collaboration with Western Europe through joint activities and student/staff mobility²²

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) aims to accomplish the task of helping people to make the transition to democracy not only through democratic building programmes, but also through economic and social development projects. USAID pursues three strategic objectives [Supplementary Text (ST) 1]:

- economic reconstruction - the main objective is to foster the emergence of a competitive market-oriented economy in which the majority of economic resources are privately owned or managed
- building democracy - by supporting democratic processes, the project focuses on transparent and accountable governance and the empowerment of citizens

²² For a recent analysis of a TEMPUS project in action, see John Sayer (ed.), 'Developing Schools for Democracy in Europe', Oxford Studies in Comparative Education, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1995.

- social sector reconstruction - the main aim is to strengthen the capacity to manage the human dimension of transition to democracy and a market economy ²³

A vital aspect in the democratisation of education is the encouragement of critical, independent and creative thinking. Owing to the fact that individuals are often obstructed in exercising their rights as citizens, projects focusing on an understanding of democratic processes²⁴ such as voting procedures and principles and freedom of speech are necessary.

Education for tolerance and reconciliation in ethnic and religiously divided communities is also an important aspect of democratisation. Formal instruction in schools which socialises children is one of the most direct means of teaching social values. As community leaders, parents, school authorities, teacher educators and teachers direct their attention to the planning and implementation of educational programmes for peace and tolerance, the school becomes the focus of the education of entire communities. Federico Mayor, Director-General of UNESCO highlighted three important points in this regard in his address at the dedication of the Beit-Hashoah Museum of Tolerance, Los Angeles. Teachers, parents aid organisations etc. should educate children:

- with a sense of openness and comprehension toward other people, their diverse cultures and histories and their fundamental shared humanity
- by teaching them the importance of refusing violence and adopting peaceful means for resolving disagreements and conflicts²⁵

²³ USAID is paying particular attention to the education sector in Armenia, including higher education. A business tutorial programme agreed with the Government is under way for the training of 2,900 students in secondary school as well as at Yerevan University in the theory and practice of market economics. Such activities will help build up the capacities of the younger generation. It was stressed in the 1995 UN Appeal that quick-impact small-scale humanitarian activities in this sector can only serve as interim measures in the hope that longer-term action will be undertaken by other donor organisations (DHA, Vol. 1, 1995).

²⁴ Thousands of Palestinian pupils have been taking part in democracy workshops organised by the independent, Jerusalem-based, Palestinian Centre for Peace and Democracy (PCPD) in the run-up to the first Palestinian general elections which took place in November 1995. More than 8,000 13-18 year olds and nearly 450 teachers have taken part in 152 workshops in 133 schools throughout Jerusalem and the West Bank. The project is funded by the American Government's USAID, via the US-based International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES, 25.8.95).

²⁵ UNESCO, 'Tolerance: The Threshold of Peace', 1994.

In Rwanda the Ministry of Education has emphasised as essential to processes of reconciliation that children should see themselves as part of a larger entity, namely Rwandans, as opposed to seeing themselves as part of a particular tribe.²⁶ In different European cities, refugee students from Bosnia have founded clubs to look world-wide for available places to study and for possible funding and scholarships. In these clubs Muslims, Croats and Serbs work together in spite of their ethnic and religious differences. UNICEF is running projects on peace education in the former Yugoslavia, but as one critic has pointed out, policy-makers seemed to be unaware of the fact that Yugoslavia had nearly 50 years' experience of education which celebrated cultural diversity.²⁷

3.2 Retraining of Teachers

Retraining of educational personnel at every level of the education system is necessary for the process of ideological reconstruction. This could be done in various ways - for example, in-service-training courses for key teachers who can then retrain other teachers in the 'cascade' model of training [See ST 6]. The Novalis Institute which trains South African teachers in the methods of the Waldorf schools incorporates in its training programme the teacher's vital role in contributing to the healing and reconstruction of the racist past in schools and wider communities. Whereas the apartheid system managed to keep different communities apart, the Novalis Institute has been most successful in bringing these communities together and in helping to develop new joint realities, preparing the groundwork for a new integrated community.²⁸ In Israel, a Department for Democracy and Co-existence has been established which publicises guidelines and assists in the development of educational programmes and projects throughout the country, emphasising in-service training for teachers.²⁹

Certain professions and subjects are deemed inappropriate in the new democratic states, for example pioneer leaders, teachers of Marxism-Leninism, and large numbers of Russian teachers in the former East Germany. In some cases, as in Germany after the War, teachers and administrative staff, like the rest of the citizens, had to go through a process of evaluation which

26 'Rebuilding a Shattered System', *TES*, 18.8.95.

27 Vanessa Piggot, 'Education and Peaceful Ethnic Conflict Resolution in Yugoslavia and the Successor States' in *Education in Russia, the Independent States and Eastern Europe*, Vol. 13, No. 2, 1995, p.68.

28 *Ibid.*, p.24.

29 *Ibid.*, p.24.

was intended to lead to a purging of the teaching force. However, this led to the paradox - as we have seen, a pre-occupation of the Western Allies - that democratisation was achieved by undemocratic means, since measures were imposed on the people. In practice re-education in the universities, for example, meant exposing staff and students to democratic ideas and procedures. Visiting lecturers, vacation courses, visits to Wilton Park, staff and student exchanges, encouragement of individuals, discussion groups and the rebirth of student societies all played a part in educating the German people anew.

The contribution of outsiders such as agencies working in the country or officials of an occupying power should be assessed critically, since there is a distinct danger of their approaching their tasks along their own ideological lines without regard to local sensitivities.

4.0 PSYCHOLOGICAL RECONSTRUCTION

A common feature of any post-conflict situation is the presence of various psychological problems ranging from demoralisation to severe trauma. These tend to be most prevalent in societies engaged in or recovering from war, and often have the greatest impact on children. The need for urgent psychological reconstruction has been recognised by a number of international agencies which have developed special rehabilitation programmes in a number of regions scarred by war.

4.1 Demoralisation, Lack of Confidence, Nostalgia

In the confusion and deprivation which often characterise post-crisis situations, it is not uncommon for those affected to experience lack of confidence, low morale and - frequently - nostalgia for the past. There is a need to alleviate this kind of despair which is often greatest among the war-disabled, as the task force from HOPE '87 discovered in its efforts to re-integrate the disabled in Bosnia³⁰ [ST 2]. However, other groups within the community are not immune to such feelings, as UNICEF has recognised in its proposals to support the development of a new Life Skills Education Programme and its incorporation into the general Armenian curriculum.³¹

The re-establishment of morale and restoration of confidence is an arduous process which often creates a feeling of nostalgia for past practices and lifestyles as, for example, in many former socialist countries where teachers and pupils continue to find the implementation of new policies, practices and teaching and learning styles with which they are unfamiliar particularly difficult to cope with.

One example of efforts to rebuild confidence and reorient victims of crisis can be found in Kakuma in the Sudan where 12,000 unaccompanied boys share water pumps, food and other facilities with 30,000 other refugees, mostly of Sudanese origin. Here they cook and clean for themselves and many even attend both church and school for they believe that by learning English in school their future is made much brighter.³²

³⁰ HOPE '87, 'HOPE for Sarajevo', in co-operation with UNESCO, 1994, p.3.

³¹ This teaching package is being developed to teach survival strategies in the Armenian setting (United Nations Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal for the Caucasus, Armenia, Vol II, March 1995, p.57).

³² Jennifer Parmelee, 'The Lost Boys', Humanitarian Monitor, No. 2, February 1995, p.7.

4.2 Stress, Anxiety and Depression

The uncertainty, insecurity and instability which follow periods of crisis inevitably result in stress, anxiety and depression, conditions which often lead to physical illness. According to one doctor in the UN-run clinic in the Balata refugee camp, children are the victims of stress-related diseases from a very early age. Such diseases include diabetes, cardiovascular complaints, irritable bowel syndrome, hypertension and bronchial infections.³³ Attempts to address this reality, which is not restricted to the West Bank, have been witnessed in Armenia where with the assistance of UNICEF a Paediatric Rehabilitation Centre has been established.³⁴

4.3 Trauma

There is a widespread need for special rehabilitation programmes designed to assist children traumatised by crisis, especially following violence or the loss of a family member as a result of war. There are numerous examples, to which we will come below, of programmes which have been implemented in an effort both to identify and treat trauma sufferers. Before examining individual examples it is important to recognise that:

- psychological reconstruction, especially in the case of trauma, is a long-term process
- long-term commitment from aid agencies is imperative³⁵
- trauma represents a serious obstacle where educational processes in schools are concerned
- psychological support for teachers is particularly important

³³ TES, 8.3.1991.

³⁴ The Centre will train medical personnel and carers in regional hospitals throughout the country. UNICEF will provide the necessary technical assistance, teaching materials and medical supplies (United Nations Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal for the Caucasus, Armenia, Vol. II, March 1995, p. 63).

³⁵ Jeff Drumtra, 'Rwandan Refugees: Updated Findings and Recommendations', UNHCR, 25.10.95, p.14.

- regular schooling is important in the establishment of the secure, caring environment deemed by psychologists and experienced relief workers to be the most effective means of relieving psychological repercussions for child victims³⁶

UNICEF, for instance, has designed and implemented Trauma Recovery Programmes for people from a number of regions including Rwanda, Chechnya, Angola, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Mozambique, the former Yugoslavia and the Caucasus. The objectives of these programmes, as outlined by UNICEF which defines trauma therapy as 'an urgently needed form of psychological first aid', ³⁷ are:

- to assess the impact of war on children
- to train teachers and parents to recognise the symptoms of distress [ST 3]
- to help children express their trauma in art, writing and drama [ST 4]

One horrifying problem which needs to be addressed, especially in the cases of Rwanda and Liberia, is the phenomenon of child soldiers, or children who have taken part in atrocities. According to a United Nations survey one in three children who were interviewed admitted to seeing children kill other children during the Civil War.³⁸ In Liberia it is estimated that some 15,000 children are armed and used to fighting.³⁹ A 'Children's Assistance Programme' in Monrovia is helping to rehabilitate children caught up in the killing of the Civil War [ST 5].

³⁶ A. Foster, 'From Emergency to Empowerment: The Role of Education for Refugee Communities' (Information from the Internet), 1995.

³⁷ UNICEF (Information from the Internet), 1995.

³⁸ Sudarsan Raghavan, 'Rwanda's Child Machete Killers', Sunday Times, 7.4.96.

³⁹ Philip Jacobsen, 'Babes in Arms', Sunday Times, 31.3.96.

5.0 PROVISION OF MATERIALS AND CURRICULAR RECONSTRUCTION

In post-crisis situations an assessment of basic curricular provision and need is likely to be an early priority.

5.1 Provision of Basic Equipment

As we have mentioned in 2.1 above provision of basic classroom furniture should be an initial priority. Next in priority will be pencils, paper and other writing materials which might be provided in the form of resource kits. As a result of the emergency situation in Chechnya, for example, the Islamic Relief Community Aid Program bought 10,000 school kits which were distributed among schoolchildren to encourage their parents to teach them at home.⁴⁰ Likewise, Azerbaijan has been identified as a potential beneficiary of some much needed basic educational equipment to be provided by World Vision International.⁴¹

5.2 Teacher Emergency Packages - 'School in a Suitcase'

Basic materials to aid the teaching of literacy and numeracy are contained in the teacher emergency packages (TEPs) produced by UNESCO [ST 6]. The 'school in a suitcase' concept first emerged out of UNESCO's experience in Somalia and Tanzania. In an effort to help Rwandans rebuild their education system, UNESCO provided 9,000 cases and training for a core group who would be involved in using them. Although many western aid groups are in favour of the use of TEPs which are being employed in many areas experiencing or emerging from conflict, TEPs are not immune to criticism, particularly from some local teachers. For example, Marie-Jeanne Uwimana, headmistress of Kigali's largest primary school, is not partial to TEPs: 'They're no use at all. They're totally unsuited to towns. The parents brought schoolbooks and materials.'⁴² That such views are not isolated was made clear to us in conversation⁴³ with a former educational project leader for UNESCO in Rwanda, now an adviser based in Paris.

40 Information from the Islamic Relief Community Aid home page on the Internet.

41 For example, a project carried out by WVI (World Vision International) in Azerbaijan has proposed to provide resource kits for teachers and kits containing school supplies and materials for 10,000 IDP school-age children in the north-west of Azerbaijan. This provision represents a financial commitment as follows: teacher kits (US \$1200 = US \$40ea x 30 sites); student kits (US \$50,000 = US \$5ea x 10,000 students). (United Nations Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal for the Caucasus, Azerbaijan, DHA, March 1995, Vol. 3, p.50.)

42 John Vidal, 'Life after Death', *Guardian Education*, 18.4.95, p.6.

43 Interview, UNESCO, Paris, 10 May, 1996.

5.3 Textbooks and Other Educational Materials

As far as textbooks are concerned, the situation will vary considerably. In some countries textbooks will have been destroyed and will need to be replaced as a matter of urgency with similar materials; in others textbooks will have to be revised in the light of a changed political situation:

- provision of textbooks

In terms of provision of textbooks from outside (e.g. from international agencies), the most significant constraint could be the great difficulty of printing them in local languages. In addition, much well-intentioned effort to ship unwanted books from other countries to crisis areas often results in the receiving institutions ending up with embarrassingly out-of-date and almost unusable materials.⁴⁴ Another constraint is the availability of the necessary financial resources. For example, in Georgia, the free provision of textbooks has had to be stopped owing to the country's severe financial crisis,⁴⁵ and in Mozambique educators have had to rely on a loan from the World Bank in order to provide four million books for primary years three to seven.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ For example, students in Bosnia face an acute shortage of textbooks and some of the faculties in the universities have been forced to offer more practical training, with students learning from 'real' situations instead of from books (THES, 15.12.95).

⁴⁵ United Nations Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal for the Caucasus, Georgia, Vol. IV, DHA, March 1995, p. 57.

⁴⁶ Mozambique News Agency, AIM Reports, No. 75, 11 January, 1996.

- provision of printing facilities

Local printing facilities will often be inadequate or non-existent, and support to refurbish or establish basic printing plant will be highly desirable. A project carried out by UNESCO in Armenia, for example, was concerned not only with the provision of textbooks but also with the improvement of the book production process of the national educational printing facilities.⁴⁷

- revision of textbooks

In Germany after the War, as we have noted, a whole textbook section under Education Branch of the Control Commission undertook the vast task of revising school textbooks. In most cases today such thorough preparation will not be possible, at least in the short term. But textbook revision will be an important necessity in most countries affected by crisis associated with political extremism of various kinds.

- distribution of textbooks

Of course, the successful distribution of textbooks is dependent upon adequate transportation which needs to be supported by the Ministry of Education with help from NGOs in monitoring the distribution.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ In particular, UNESCO proposed:

- to provide consultants to assess the need for educational materials and the requirements of the national printing press;
- to provide paper as well as other printing facilities in order to enable the Ministry of Education to produce textbooks for schools (United Nations Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal for the Caucasus, Armenia, Vol. 2, March 1995).

⁴⁸ United Nations Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal for the Caucasus, Georgia, Vol. IV, DHA, March 1995, pp. 57-58.

5.4 Curriculum Development

Most detailed revision of the curriculum will be planned over the long term, but there will be some urgent short-term measures that need to be taken. These include:

- teaching about mine-awareness in post-conflict situations; UNESCO's 'Programme for Education for Emergencies and Reconstruction' (PEER) includes a series of lessons with accompanying charts and handouts and has been used successfully in Somalia and Rwanda; likewise, the *Instituto Nacional de Acção sobre as Minas* (INAM) with initial support from the United Nations will implement nationwide instruction covering issues such as awareness, avoidance and clearance of mines, and will also provide the necessary training programmes ⁴⁹
- general guidelines for pupil survival in times of conflict and crisis ⁵⁰
- emergency training to assist teachers with the creation of new learning materials,⁵¹ the use of new teaching and learning styles, and the teaching of 'new' subjects like civics
- first steps towards teaching for understanding and tolerance of other ethnic and religious groups

⁴⁹ United Nations Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal for Angola, 1995, p. 27.

⁵⁰ For instance, a teaching package is being developed to teach survival strategies in the Armenian setting (United Nations Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal for the Caucasus, Armenia, Vol. II, March 1995).

⁵¹ With respect to Palestine, World University Service (WUS) organised and funded two training visits by a specialist in the development of active-learning materials from the International Extension College in Cambridge. This experiment has been successful in training a group of teachers to write independent learning materials and to produce attractive experimental units which compare very favourably with printed materials produced elsewhere for similar learners. It has not only served to encourage a change in teaching and learning styles in Palestinian schools towards a more learner-active approach when schools are open, but has also offered a partial solution to the problems caused by school closures (WUS, 1991/1992).

6.0 HUMAN RESOURCES

Social and economic upheaval and, especially, various forms of conflict, often lead to the exodus of well-trained people to foreign countries. Sarajevo University, for example, is suffering a severe shortage of teachers.⁵² While the war may have started the exodus of teachers following the deaths of lecturers and students, many academics have emigrated recently because they could see no future for themselves.⁵³ The effect of this brain-drain is much worse in poorer countries such as Rwanda.⁵⁴

The schooling system is also affected, as in the case of Palestine where as a result of shortages many teachers lack formal degree qualifications. In-service training is said to be minimal in private and UNRWA schools and virtually non-existent in Civil Administration schools. European Community-sponsored training courses have reached only a fraction of the teaching force.⁵⁵

Resources of the educational workforce are also wasted because professionals transfer to the private sector or other parts of the economy. While English teachers are highly in demand in secondary schools in Sarajevo, many are enticed to work as interpreters for foreign agencies owing to the fact that they can scarcely survive economically.⁵⁶ Political and economic changes can also lead to changing educational needs as in the case of East European countries where skills in English and business management are urgently required. Various measures could be implemented to relieve this problem, as outlined below.

⁵² Out of a teaching staff of 1,400, 500 have left and only a few visiting professors have come. In the faculty of law, there are only six professors, out of an original 42. Student numbers have dropped from a pre-war 23,000 to just 6,000, THES, 21.6.95.

⁵³ THES, 21.6.95.

⁵⁴ See Case Study II: Rwanda.

⁵⁵ TES, 12.11.93.

⁵⁶ As a result, only 12 out of the city's 36 primary schools now boast an English teacher, while the 25 secondary schools share just seven teachers, some of whom work peripatetically. Of these 21 state-sector teachers, only one third are formally qualified to teach English. What is remarkable is that there are any teachers left at all in state schools since they work for just £3 a month in a society where the minimum expenditure per person per month is roughly £250. Like other state employees, teachers must depend for their livelihood on humanitarian aid or relatives who do salaried work. Some teachers stay with the state system because of a strong sense of duty and goodwill towards their students. Guardian Education, 6.6.95.

6.1 Use of Additional Human Resources

In emergency situations it is possible to draw upon the expertise and willing co-operation of a number of groups, though this must be approached with caution, since the re-introduction of formerly marginalised people (exiles, refugees, those generally subjected to ethnic, religious, political or other forces of discrimination) could cause as many problems as it is intended to solve. Groups who might be called upon to strengthen the teaching force include:

- retired teachers
- students, e.g. undergraduates in Bosnia whose own studies were interrupted by the war,⁵⁷ and foreign students who volunteer their services for a limited period of time
- foreign advisers and consultants⁵⁸
- exiled people⁵⁹
- people from the community such as church leaders and parents

⁵⁷ Guardian Education, 6.6.95.

⁵⁸ South African educationists concerned with the reconstruction of South Africa's system of education and training have been visiting the UK, USA, Germany, Singapore and Taiwan. Currently, they are experimenting with the dual apprenticeship system from Germany. South Africa has also devised a National Qualifications Framework [NQF] which combines academic and vocational education. There is a strong recognition that education will play a fundamental role in helping South Africa to re-establish itself in the international business community (I. Finlay and V. Martin, 'Some Old Clichés, New Challenges', TES, 2.6.95).

⁵⁹ The Minister of Higher Education, Scientific Research and Culture in Rwanda, Dr Joseph Nsengimana, stressed the government's wish to have 71 professors return before the beginning of the new academic year in December ('Professors to return to Rwanda', IOM News, July/August 1995). In the case of South Africa, the London-based Africa Educational Trust and the International University Exchange Fund in Geneva have succeeded in helping to produce a highly educated and competent group of people who are currently making a significant contribution to the political, economic, and cultural development of South Africa and its transition process (D. Jobbins, 'Award scheme proves a triumph', THES, 17.11.95).

In the case of foreign advisers or visiting academics and other professionals care must be taken to ensure that people of high calibre are involved. In the new *Länder* of the Federal Republic of Germany much resentment has been caused by the presence of visiting professors and others from Western Germany - some of whom have sought to further their own careers through active involvement at levels they could not have operated at in the West.

6.2 Development of New Management Strategies to Strengthen and Advance Capacity-Building Among Teachers

The provision of adequately trained teachers in post-conflict situations is important because they contribute significantly to the long-term development of the education system. Agencies should prioritise this as an urgent area of funding. For instance, one of the Middle East's oldest western-style universities, the American University of Beirut (AUB), has launched an appeal for \$38 million to arrest the decline of its facilities and teaching in the war-torn Lebanese capital. Lebanon's crippling inflation has led to a major 'brain drain' of AUB academics to lucrative jobs in the new institutions of the oil-rich Gulf states, where they can command salaries up to five times higher. AUB's faculty has been further weakened by the departure of virtually all of its non-Arab staff, frightened away by the risk of assassination or kidnap. The exodus of non-Arabs began in earnest in 1984 following the murder of the then president of AUB Dr Malcolm Kerr. The biggest proportion of the \$38 million will be used to provide funds to "attract and retain employees".⁶⁰ UNDHA, as well as other agencies, consolidates efforts to strengthen the capacity of governments in the sector of humanitarian assistance, co-ordination and information management.

Similarly in South Africa attention is being paid by various NGOs to advancing a more progressive management culture, as well as constructing efficient management structures.⁶¹

In Bosnia-Herzegovina a team from the University of Pittsburgh has been concentrating on helping teachers and administrators to nurture the intellectual development of children while addressing their war-related stress and trauma. During 1995, the Institute for International Studies in Education (IISE), together with both UNICEF and the Bosnian government, conducted a seminar

⁶⁰ THES, 29.4.89.

⁶¹ Richard Fehnel, Ford Foundation, 'Education Policy and Management and the Road to Restructuring: A Comparative Analysis' in *Restructuring South African Education in the 1990s*, HSRC, Vol. 1, 1993.

series which introduced 'innovative teaching/learning strategies that [fostered] active and student-centered classrooms with the intention of relieving the teachers' and children's stress and psychological trauma due to the war'.⁶² In addition, with the possibility of a peaceful settlement appearing more likely, they began to concentrate on education for reconstruction by 'focusing on developing the national organisational capacity in educational planning'.⁶³ This culminated in a seminar devoted to educational planning which took place in Zenica.

6.3 Inter-University Teacher Training Programmes for Capacity Building

The emerging 'brain-drain' to Western Europe and North America in many countries which experience social upheaval and political instability or a slow rate of economic growth, jeopardises a human-centered sustainable development especially in Sub-Saharan countries. UNESCO, in collaboration with other Western European universities such as Utrecht University, has formed UNITWIN Programmes in order to:

- develop linking arrangements such as programmes of co-operation between institutions in both Europe and southern Africa
- develop centres of excellence of specialised post-graduate studies to advance research
- establish UNESCO chairs within this UNITWIN network that would serve as cores of the centres of excellence

The University of Utrecht has developed a link with the *Faculdade Veterinaria* of the *Universidade Eduardo Mondlane* in Maputo, Mozambique, and the Faculty of Veterinary Science at the University of Zimbabwe. The co-operation not only helped with new fundamental research for the development of part of their respective economies, but also stimulated regional co-operation. Inter-university and teacher training college programmes in which partnership helps to rebuild strong

⁶² John Yeager and Michel Rakotomanana, 'Initiating a Program in Educational Policy and Planning in a Nation in Crisis: the Case of Bosnia-Herzegovina', paper presented at the 40th Annual Meeting of the Comparative and International Education Society, Williamsburg, VA (March 6-10, 1996).

⁶³ John Yeager and Michel Rakotomanana, loc. cit.

regionally differentiated systems in eastern and southern Africa are vital to the reconstruction of higher education generally, and teacher education specifically.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Hans von Ginkel, 'Inter-University Training Programmes: Aims and Impact for Capacity-Building' in Higher Education: Capacity-Building for the 21st Century, UNESCO, 1995, pp. 91-100.

7.0 POPULATION AND DEMOGRAPHY

Manifold crises such as civil conflict and natural disasters in the former Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, Mozambique, Rwanda, Ethiopia, and the Gulf over the last decade have resulted in the flight and displacement of millions of refugees. Currently an estimated 18 million refugees live outside of their own country⁶⁵ and some 20 million people are displaced within their own countries.

7.1 Basic Needs for Survival

Apart from education, urgent life-protecting needs such as shelter, food, healthier clothing and sanitation should be provided for refugees and displaced persons in order to help them integrate in a host country. Various agencies under the auspices of UNHCR have assisted in providing support to refugees and displaced persons from some areas of the former Soviet Union like Azerbaijan and in integrating them into Armenian society.⁶⁶

7.2 Development of Life and Educational Skills

In provision of assistance to refugees and IDPs formal and informal education should be regarded as an urgent priority⁶⁷ which should form part of emergency relief, because it not only provides a feeling of stability and normalcy in the midst of confusion and disorder, but is often an important sign of future hope and fosters a sense of community. Moreover, the restoration of some kind of structure, productivity and responsibility can be a central step in the recovery process.

⁶⁵ The Women's Commission News states that the majority of those who will return and repatriate to Rwanda and Burundi are children (Women's Commission News, Vol. 12, Winter 1996, p.3).

⁶⁶ Implementing agencies such as UNHCR, Volunteers for Overseas Co-operative Assistance and OXFAM(UK) have provided programmes which facilitated the refugee integration process such as in nutrition, healthier shelter and community services (United Nations Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal for the Caucasus, Armenia, Vol. II, March 1995).

⁶⁷ 'In a survey done by the International Extension College it was found that refugees' first request was for education. Apart from giving them hope, security etc., a main reason for this is that often the first refugees to leave their country are the educated ones, either because they are aware earlier than others of the problems and so get away quickly, or because they are activists and in most immediate danger. Many have to leave their education unfinished; to be unable to continue it is worse than having no food.' A Study of Refugees' Education With Particular Reference to Eritrean Refugees in the Sudan, C.H. Williams, Newcastle University, February 1989, p.15).

The planning of educational provision for refugees and displaced persons should consider several factors. These include:

- the different interests of the host country, the refugees themselves and the agencies involved⁶⁸
- the type of education that is most appropriate, i.e.

formal - pre-primary, primary, and secondary education
vocational - practical and life skills (e.g. mine-awareness),⁶⁹
adult-literacy programmes, health care⁷⁰ education and
nutrition, crafts, women's programmes
higher education - university and colleges, scholarships abroad

- choice regarding the curriculum

⁶⁸ For countries such as Sudan, which is struggling to provide its own nationals with adequate education as a result of limited resources, it is difficult to provide refugees with education without outside assistance. Although assistance is available from the UNHCR, COR, and other NGOs, resentment builds up among the Sudanese who perceive that adequate educational opportunities are provided to refugee children and not to theirs. Caroline Harvey Williams states that 'one of the best solutions is probably to provide new schools that are open to refugees and nationals. In this way the nationals are benefiting from the refugee presence and as refugee and Sudanese children meet and grow up together, resentment should be lessened', loc. cit. p.18.

⁶⁹ One example of life-skills education is mine awareness. The mine situation is a long-term issue for which the government of Angola is responsible and for which it established the National Mine Action Institute in early 1995. Assisted by the UN in its initial stages INAM was to connect nation-wide education programmes for mine-awareness and avoidance, mine survey and database registration and mine clearance, as well as to implement the training programmes necessary for conducting these activities (UN Consolidated Interagency Appeal, Angola, Vol. I, 1995, p.27).

⁷⁰ For example, in Tajikistan, refugees and IDPs are especially vulnerable to adverse effects which are often associated with deterioration in physical health and nutritional status. To alleviate this problem UNESCO proposed to start a health education programme on a pilot basis for a six-month period. The local radio station was intended to be supported by UNESCO to produce radio shows targeted at school-age children and their families, with the aim of supporting the school health programme (United Nations Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal for Tajikistan, 1 January -31 December 1995, Part II, November, 1994, pp.53-54).

7.3 Provision of Basic Educational Materials

As we have mentioned in 6.1 provision of basic school equipment such as pencils, and other writing materials should also be considered as a priority for refugees and displaced people. For example in Azerbaijan, Relief International proposed to provide machinery, such as plastic laminating machines, that would allow teachers to create basic educational materials for refugees and local children between the ages of 6 and 15.⁷¹ [For more information about provision of materials see Section 5].

7.4. Development of Human Resources

Complementary to immediate short-term needs for educational reconstruction, longer-term action is required.

Refugees and displaced persons are better able to contribute significantly to the reconstruction of their own home country after repatriation. Refugees who remain and settle in their host country will be able to build a new life for themselves when necessary skills and knowledge have been acquired. Thus, in either circumstance long-term educational provision can assist refugees to maintain subsistence levels.

7.5 Development of New Perspectives and Longer-term Life-skills

As mentioned in 3.0 and 4.0 above new attitudes need to be nurtured. In conjunction with the development of relevant educational curricula and programmes in order to rebuild their lives, psychological restoration is vital for the long-term rehabilitation of refugees. It also requires the creation of special educational programmes incorporating curricula which especially emphasise such topics as:

- peace education
- civic and human rights education
- trauma therapy programmes

⁷¹ The project aimed to provide teachers with tools to create new materials for students. Relief International intended to teach personnel to use the equipment and provide relevant maintenance as well as samples of what could be created (e.g. maps, alphabets). (United Nations Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal, Azerbaijan).

8.0 CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this Report we have attempted to distil a vast amount of information on past and current efforts at educational reconstruction in a number of widely varying post-crisis situations. Since no two such situations are the same, generalisation is always difficult, but sufficient general principles and advice about courses of action emerge from an analysis of what usually happens in post-crisis reconstruction for us to have been able to identify some of the main issues.

Likewise, OXFAM, in a recent press release⁷² listed the following recommendations which had been stressed by six of the world's largest private humanitarian aid agencies⁷³ in their endorsement of a report outlining the findings of the Joint Evaluation of Emergency Assistance to Rwanda: ⁷⁴

- To improve humanitarian co-ordination, the existing UN Department of Humanitarian Affairs (DHA) should be strengthened rather than merging all UN humanitarian agencies. DHA should become a budget holder of UN Consolidated Appeals and should receive funds from donors, deciding priorities and determining which agencies receive funds.
- Governments and the UN should act on the criticism that the UN and its member governments, particularly the Security Council, ignored their own early warning signals before the genocide. They should ensure that such failures do not reoccur.
- All non-governmental agencies should subscribe to the Code of Conduct developed by SCHR and the Red Cross Movement. NGO networks should be given greater capacity to monitor compliance with

⁷² Information from the Internet, 1996.

⁷³ These agencies which form the Steering Committee for Humanitarian Response (SCHR) are: Caritas International, International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, International Save the Children Alliance, Lutheran World Federation, Oxfam and the World Council of Churches (OXFAM; Information from the Internet, 1996).

⁷⁴ 'The International Response to Conflict and Genocide: Lessons from the Rwanda Experience', Joint Evaluation of Emergency Assistance to Rwanda. The report was prepared by international specialists under the aegis of the Danish government's aid department DANIDA (Information from the Internet, 1996).

the Code. SCHR agencies are already in the process of developing a series of professional and technical standards of performance.⁷⁵

A very useful list of recommendations regarding future priorities for aid in education is to be found in Sarah Graham-Brown's book which examines education in developing countries. She argues that:

- aid to education needs to be increased
- increased aid to education cannot be at the expense of other social and environmental needs; education can only flourish in a healthy environment
- this increase CAN be at the expense of military assistance . . . , and of international aid which is mainly geared towards improving the trade position of the donor country, or wasteful 'white elephant' and prestige projects
- conditionality which limits the policy options available to recipients should be lifted
- basic education for all should be a key goal
- equity cannot be achieved in basic education unless it is integrated into the broader context of social and economic reform
- most education programmes, whether in the formal or non-formal sector, which cater for poor and vulnerable groups will find difficulties in becoming financially self-sufficient; therefore, funding, whether from national or international sources, needs to be LONG-TERM
- more co-operation and exchange is needed in order to avoid the tendency, even within one region, constantly to repeat experiences; governments and NGOs must 'talk' ⁷⁶

75 OXFAM, Information from the Internet, 1996.

76 Sarah Graham-Brown, Education in the Developing World, Longman, London, 1991, pp. 300-302.

Much work still needs to be done. In particular it would be helpful to be able to take research of this kind forward in the following ways:

- Developing procedures for early needs analysis

As we have argued above, planning for educational reconstruction best begins before intervention and assistance become possible. There is a need to develop procedures to assist aid agencies in anticipating the precise needs in particular post-crisis situations.

- Assessing the effectiveness of measures taken in educational reconstruction in particular countries

Research needs to be undertaken to assess the impact of intervention and assistance of various kinds in countries which are experiencing a period of post-crisis educational reconstruction. One or two contrasting situations might be investigated in detail and over a period of at least a year in order to evaluate the effectiveness of measures taken to assist reconstruction.

- Further analysis of existing programmes world-wide

In a two-month project we have only been able to scratch the surface. A longer period of funded research would permit more detailed analysis of educational reconstruction measures in the countries with which we have been principally concerned.

SUPPLEMENTARY TEXTS

ST 1

One example assisting with ideological reconstruction is the establishment and activities of the Central European University (CEU) founded by George Soros. Soros has created the CEU as a means of bridging information between East and West. One of its main purposes is 'to train the academic and public servants who will lead the transition of society in Central and Eastern Europe' (O'Leary, 1992).

The University seeks to provide high-quality, internationally-recognised postgraduate education in subjects particularly neglected or distorted under the communist regimes of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. CEU not only provides academic training but also helps students find appropriate positions in their home countries, thus strengthening the developments of open societies (CEU).

The CEU's *Transition Project*, affiliated with its political science department, aims at an interdisciplinary analysis of transition in Eastern and Central Europe, conducted by locally based economists, sociologists, political scientists and legal experts. Research findings are utilised in the political science department's curriculum and made accessible to the academic public through working papers, colloquia and conferences. On the basis of the research results the project makes policy recommendations to the wider public of politicians, advisers and businessmen.

The CEU's *Privatisation Research Project* aims to establish a new institutional framework capable of recording, analysing and disseminating knowledge about economic transition as well as translating the information into practical policy prescriptions and actual assistance. The project trains local personnel in public administration and the emerging of the institutional infrastructure of the market economy and promotes new standards of responsible corporate behaviour. A number of governments have requested the project's assistance in such areas as:

- the preparation of mass privatisation programmes (e.g. Poland, Romania)
- small business development (Russia)
- legal reform (Bulgaria)
- international assistance (Russia)

The project has received wide recognition and attracted collaboration from the United States and Western Europe, resulting in joint efforts with the World Bank, the United States Chamber of Commerce and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (CEU).

The *Civic Education Project* sends Western scholars to teach, motivate and assist universities in Eastern and Central Europe. This project is concerned with such issues as curriculum reform, faculty retraining, development of public education, etc. Each year the CEU provides a number of scholarships for outstanding students from the former socialist countries which enable them to undertake a course of study in the university.

[Quoted from the Internet (partially); the rest a paraphrase of information from O'Leary]

ST 2

2.2 Sensitising and Motivating the Target Group

However much the ultimate aim of this project is the re-integration of the disabled into society and the employment of the amputees, sensitising and motivating the target group was of top priority. Due to the despair each of the war-disabled had experienced they were not interested in establishing contact. Their fear of a renewed disappointment (promised prostheses were not delivered, promised foodstuffs were not distributed, . . .) was so great that the young war victims would not immediately have agreed to take part in the project. As a result it was necessary to meet the young handicapped in the course of a trust-building process on a partnership-like level without raising expectations or making promises. This trust-building process took about three months.

[Quoted from: HOPE '87, 'HOPE for Sarajevo - Medical Care and Educational-professional Training for War-mutilated Young People - and Young Amputees' (in co-operation with UNESCO), 1994]

ST 3

In Rwanda UNICEF has been training social agents such as teachers, social workers and aid workers to identify basic trauma symptoms. So far 2000 social agents are on board and learning how to alleviate trauma by helping the child talk about experiences or paint a picture or play a game.

[Quoted from the Internet]

In Angola UNICEF's continuing support to education for children in difficult circumstances will take three forms: the supply of teaching-learning materials to displaced children, the rehabilitation of school structures, and the sensitisation of teachers to the problems of war-traumatised children or children in difficult circumstances in the accessible provinces.

[Quoted from: UN Consolidated Appeal for Angola, May 1993]

ST 4

Almost 300,000 children live in besieged enclaves and war zones, and 620,000 have been forced from their homes. An estimated one and a half million young people are suffering from trauma.

'Even if they are not exposed to war, they are experiencing every day a lot of stresses and traumas which are related to war,' says UNICEF psychologist Mila Kapor. 'For instance, there are many children who every day hear about atrocities and massacres; they see these on T.V.'

Their parents, confused and anxious themselves, have few resources to help the children. As Ms. Kapor says, 'Depressed parents cannot provide the so-called emotional protective shield to their children'.

But many children are getting help in dealing with the emotional trauma caused by war through the Psycho-social Programme for Traumatized Children. The programme, begun in 1992, encompasses creative activity and simple conversation to help the children express their fears and worries. Another part of its mandate is preventive: to help create a more peaceful future.

Programme activities take place in hundreds of schools and pre-schools, refugee camps and primary health care centres throughout all the republics of the former Yugoslavia. An estimated 150,000 children aged 3 to 16 have participated, and about 1,000 teachers have been trained to help them. In 1994, UNICEF provided about US \$600,000 worth of assistance to the project.

[Quoted from: UNICEF, 'Former Yugoslavia: Healing Mental Wounds', January 1995]

ST 5

The slight figure in baggy shorts hunches over a school desk and talks bout his life as a hardened killer. Paul is 15, an orphan, and calls himself by his guerrilla nickname, Born to Suffer. At the age of 10 he started fighting in the savage civil war in Liberia and has lost count of how many lives he took with gun, grenade and machete.

Now Paul, along with a dozen others, is enrolled in the Children's Assistance Programme (CAP), a detention centre-cum-school in a compound on the outskirts of Monrovia, the battle-scarred Liberian capital on the steamy coast of West Africa. CAP is run on behalf of the United Nations Children's Fund by Liberian social workers dedicated to helping these damaged boys escape their brutal past and find a new life.

Like most of Liberia's child soldiers, Paul was swept up in bloody factional fighting that erupted towards the end of 1989. Armed men burst out of the bush around his village and threatened to behead his widowed mother unless he joined their tribal militia. After perfunctory guerrilla training, he was thrown into battle, an AK-47 rifle on his back, grenades and machete on his belt. 'I was scared the first time my commander ordered me to shoot someone. But once I discovered how easy it was to kill, it didn't both me any more,' he says.

[Quoted from: Philip Jacobsen, 'Babes in Arms', Sunday Times, 31.3.96]

ST 6

Teacher Emergency Package

The Teacher Emergency Package (TEP) consists of a kit of materials and a methodology of teaching basic literacy and numeracy in the mother language of the pupils.

There is a box containing slates, chalk, dusters, exercise books and pencils for eighty students (in two shifts). The teacher's bag contains blackboard paint, brush and tape measure so that teachers can create their own blackboard on a wall if necessary; white and coloured chalk; pens, pencils, pencil sharpeners and felt markers; ten "Scrabble sets" so that teachers can create language and number games for the children; three cloth charts (alphabet, number and multiplication), an attendance book, a note book and the Teacher Guide - which outlines the pedagogical methods and the content of lessons to develop literacy and numeracy.

The kit covers grades one to four (approximately) and is designed for a six month span of learning that then phases into the formal text-book-based curriculum.

The UNESCO team has also developed a training programme for the implementation of TEPs based on a "train the trainer" approach. Once a core group of national trainers has been trained (by one of the UNESCO team) these trainers in turn move out to train head teachers or representative teachers. These people in turn train their colleagues at the school level. This approach has several advantages:

- It allows national staff to develop psychological ownership of the programme (not generally the case when they merely receive handouts)
- It also develops an independence and an infrastructure that augers well for the next phase of the formal curriculum
- In addition there is a strong ethical base for using as many national staff as possible in a programme of reconstruction

[Quoted from: UNESCO PEER, Programme for Education for Emergencies and Reconstruction, n.d.]

Appendix I

Case Study: Bosnia

The former Yugoslavia included six republics: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia. Yugoslavia was the country with four languages (Slovene, Croatian, Serbian, Macedonian), two alphabets (Roman and Cyrillic), three religions (Orthodox, Catholics and Moslems) and five nationalities (Slovenes, Serbs, Croats, Montenegrans and Macedonians). The question of different nationalities has always been a problematic issue in Yugoslavia. A policy towards the creation of a unified Yugoslav socialist consciousness was pursued,⁷⁷ but since the Second World War there have been national tensions in the country.

The population of the republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina was the most diverse in the former Yugoslavia. Muslims were the largest group (about 40% out of the population). Serbians and Croats also constituted a substantial population in the region. Villages and cities in Bosnia-Herzegovina were mixed communities.⁷⁸

The Education System Before the War

Prior to the outbreak of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1992, the education system in this area was relatively well-developed. All children were enrolled in eight-year compulsory education and the majority of them continued their secondary schooling in secondary schools of various types (e.g. gymnasium, vocational or trade schools). The gymnasium (general secondary school) delivered a four-year course with a highly academic curriculum. In some schools there were two parallel courses - for example, a scientific-mathematical branch and a socio-linguistic branch.⁷⁹ This type of secondary education was considered to be prestigious. However, during the 1970s and early 1980s educational policy was directed towards the importance of vocational and professional subjects. The popularity of general secondary education, which was represented by the gymnasium, was reduced, and students were encouraged to study for specific professions in the last two years of secondary school.

⁷⁷ Vanessa Piggot, 'Education and Peaceful Ethnic Conflict Resolution in Yugoslavia and Successor States in Education in Russia, the Independent States and Eastern Europe, Vol.13, No.2, 1995.

⁷⁸ Martyn Rady, 'The Break-Up of Yugoslavia', Wayland, p.32.

⁷⁹ Nigel Grant, 'Society, Schools and Progress in Eastern Europe', 1969, p.316.

In the seventies, following a re-examination of the nationalities policy, more attention was paid to the ideology of an integrated society in the school curriculum. Education was considered one of the most important means to overcome disintegration. Under this new emphasis in educational policy schools were supposed to promote the idea of a unified Yugoslav socialist consciousness as well as a feeling of solidarity, fraternity and unity. There were also attempts to implement a common national curriculum throughout the country. However, a basic common syllabus was established only in such subjects as mathematics, science and technical subjects. The content of such disciplines as history or literature differed from region to region.⁸⁰

There were four universities in Bosnia (Sarajevo, Mostar, Tuzla and Banja Luka) which included 46 institutes and faculties. About 30,000 students were enrolled in higher education (Some Facts on Bosnia and Herzegovina).

The control and administration of the education system were more flexible than in other East European countries. The system was characterised by strong regional variations: although basic educational policy was defined at federal level, it was freely interpreted by the republics, districts and even by different educational institutions.⁸¹ Each republic had its own ministry of education and defined its education budget. The individual ministries had the right to decide their own school curriculum so long as it coincided with general socialist principles. All pupils were entitled to instruction in their native language and it was the responsibility of the republics to provide learning opportunities for ethnic minorities in their mother tongue.⁸²

Problems in the 1970s and 1980s

The tendency towards decentralisation became especially noticeable in the national policy of the former Yugoslavia in the 1970s and 80s. Accordingly in the constitution of 1974 the power of the central government was noticeably reduced and responsibility for decision-making was given to the six governments of the republics.⁸³ This process of decentralisation that developed as a reaction to economic stagnation and attempts to overcome it, was one of the reasons for further disparities between the republics.

⁸⁰ For example, according to demands of Croatian history teachers and handbook writers, about 60 per cent of the syllabus had to be devoted to Croatian history and culture (Piggot, 1995).

⁸¹ Grant, *op. cit.*, 1969, pp. 304-305.

⁸² Piggot, *op. cit.*

⁸³ Rady, *op. cit.*

The gap between richer areas of the former Yugoslavia (such as Slovenia and Croatia) and the other poorer republics became more evident in the 1980s. For example, unemployment in Slovenia was 1.8%, whereas it was 29.1% in Kosovo. Slovenia contributed about 25 % to the federal budget. Politicians in Slovenia and Croatia blamed the lowering standards of living on having to subsidise the poorest regions.⁸⁴ On the other hand, many people in Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia believed that they were entitled to more assistance from the richer areas.

By the beginning of the 1990s Yugoslavia was in a situation of deep economic and political crisis. Communist power collapsed in the 1990 elections. Nationalism then became the most significant force in the country.⁸⁵ This finally led to a worsening of relations between the republics and different ethnic groups within the republics and resulted in the outbreak of war.

In 1991 Slovenia and Croatia declared their full independence. The Yugoslav Army invaded Slovenia, but pulled out in a couple of months. In August 1992 the Yugoslav army, consisting mainly of Serbian and Montenegrin troops, entered Croatia.

The people of Bosnia and Herzegovina voted for independence in the referendum of late February 1992 with a 67% majority. On 6 April, 1992 the country was recognised as the independent Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It became a full member of the United Nations in May 1992, and in June 1992 was admitted as a member state to UNESCO.⁸⁶ The majority of Serbs in this region wanted Bosnia-Herzegovina to remain a part of Yugoslavia, together with the republics of Serbia and Montenegro, and the Serbian Democratic Party decided to establish an independent Serbian State in Bosnia-Herzegovina. As a consequence of that decision, Serbian gunmen started to take control in certain areas, receiving substantial assistance from Serbia. By April 1992 Bosnia-Herzegovina was in a situation of war.

The war in Bosnia has created noticeable ethnic fragmentation which has presented the education system with some of its most difficult challenges.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Piggot, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.

⁸⁵ Rady, *op. cit.*

⁸⁶ Srebren Dizdar, Permanent Secretary of Education, Ministry of Education, Bosnia-Herzegovina, 'Some Facts About Bosnia-Herzegovina', IISE Document, 29.11.95.

⁸⁷ 'Education in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Priorities for Recovery', Open Society Institute Education Programme Support Unit, 31.7.95 (Information from the Internet).

The Impact of the War on the Education System

Physical reconstruction

The war exerted a very negative influence on all parts of the republic's social life, and in particular on the education system, which has been affected greatly.

Many school buildings have been damaged by the war or vandalised, and they still need to be repaired. Other educational establishments are poorly maintained owing to a lack of resources. Classes have become overcrowded as an outcome of forced migration. There is a general shortage of basic school supplies, learning and teaching materials as well as heating and electricity. Currently educational institutions are working with UNICEF to conduct updated damage assessments. Many donor organisations such as IRC, the Soros Foundation, the European Union Administration of Mostar, UNESCO and Swiss Disaster Relief have also put much effort into school repair and reconstruction. UNPROFOR (the United Nations Protection Force) completed emergency repairs in 20 schools in Zagreb, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Approximately six of them have been fully repaired and officially re-opened. One of the most serious constraints hindering reconstruction is obtaining access to all needy regions. Crossing former and current confrontation lines can be dangerous and costly. UNPROFOR has also assisted UNICEF and international NGOs in delivering school supplies and textbooks to isolated areas.⁸⁸

A recent investigation prepared for the World Bank shows a devastating picture of the present situation in the education system of this area. According to this report, since 1991-1992 there has been no operating budget for education in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Shortages of basic educational materials and school supplies are acute. A great number of qualified teachers have been lost through migration, mobilisation into the military and war accidents. According to the Ministry of Education in Sarajevo only 254,000 children were in primary education (compared to 541,000 before the war). There were 167,000 pupils in secondary education, again about half of the previous number.⁸⁹

The structure and foundations of the education system in Bosnia have been affected greatly since the outbreak of the war in April 1992. The most acute constraints faced by the system include shortages of school buildings and qualified teachers and a lack of educational materials

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ UNICEF, Information from the Internet, 29.9.95.

as well as lack of security. Educational activities were terminated for almost a year in the areas where there was serious fighting and shelling (e.g. in Sarajevo). Some classes reopened during the spring of 1993, but by this time many educational establishments had been destroyed and some of them had been occupied by military forces or had served as shelter for refugees and displaced persons. In these areas classes have sometimes been conducted in basements, private apartments or various make-shift structures. However, many schools in Bosnia have been forced to close repeatedly owing to heavy fighting and shelling.⁹⁰ A great number of children have received only irregular schooling.

Higher educational establishments. Lack of educational materials. Assistance for refugee students.

Higher educational establishments have been experiencing similar problems. Shortage of buildings, laboratory equipment and other facilities has become a very serious constraint for their activities. In addition, university as well as public libraries have been devastated.⁹¹ There is an urgent need for the repair of old university buildings and for the construction of new ones. In September 1995 Germany and Italy together donated US \$330,000 to help repair university buildings in Bosnia. The money was intended for emergency repairs of larger buildings that can house more than one faculty. Bosnia's universities are also in great need of supplies including books, computers and paper.⁹²

The possibility of scientific communication and co-operation with other higher educational institutions has been dramatically reduced. There is no or very little access to recent books and journals, information about international research projects and networks, seminars, conferences etc. As an outcome, many disciplines are no longer available, and some faculties have been transferred to other regions.⁹³

⁹⁰ For example, in Sarajevo, classes resumed in September 1993, then, in November, they were compelled to close owing to renewed military action ('Education in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Priorities for Recovery', loc. cit.).

⁹¹ For example, in August, 1992, Bosnia's National and University Library was shelled and burned. Before the fire the library held 1.5 million volumes, including 155,000 very valuable and rare books; the country's national archives, periodicals and books published in Bosnia, the collections of the University of Sarajevo. (Andras Riedlmayer, 'Erasing the Past: Destruction of Libraries in Bosnia-Herzegovina', Harvard University, Information from the Internet).

⁹² Burton Bollag, 'Bosnia's Universities See Hope as Academic Year Begins', The Chronicle of Higher Education, No. 6, 6.10.95.

⁹³ For instance, two faculties of the University of Sarajevo continued their activities in Zenica. ('Education in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Priorities for Recovery', loc. cit.)

About 10,000 university graduates and 6,000 students have left the country.⁹⁴ In 1995 Austria took in the largest concentration of Bosnian students, about 600. About 300 to 400 students from Bosnia are studying in the USA. Most of the rest are scattered among several European countries. The difficulties the refugee students face abroad are usually financial. In most countries they need to pay university fees and where the fees are paid they still need money for living expenses. Some organisations - like the Soros Foundation - or individual countries provide grants to support students from Bosnia. Austria has established a special scholarship fund for refugee students from Bosnia (about US\$ 500 per month for each student).⁹⁵

Many students in Bosnia have been mobilised in the army or are working with different humanitarian organisations.

According to a UNESCO⁹⁶ consultant there are several important priority areas for reconstruction of the education system of Sarajevo University, including

- Repair and Reconstruction of the faculties. UNESCO estimates that US \$56 million are needed alone for the reconstruction and refurbishment of the University of Sarajevo's faculties. Five faculties of the University have been totally destroyed, the others have been considerably or lightly damaged. One of the major problems faced by the University is lack of heating and safety. The Faculties of Fine Arts and Science, for example, have often been exposed to fire and shelling. Another significant problem is lack of buildings. Such Faculties as Agriculture and Electrical Engineering do not have permanent buildings of their own
- Materials for offices and laboratories. Apart from the reconstruction of the faculties, US \$100,000 was required for office and laboratory equipment in the last academic year
- Provision of recent books and scientific journals

⁹⁴ Dizdar, op. cit.

⁹⁵ Burton Bollag, 'Bosnia's Academic Exiles: Students Who Fled Their War-torn Country Face New Challenges Abroad', The Chronicle of Higher Education, No. 35, 12.5.95.

⁹⁶ Suada Tozo-Waldmann, 'The University System in Bosnia-Herzegovina' (Information from the Internet).

- Support for students. It is also very important to support those students who stayed in Sarajevo to continue their studies under extremely difficult conditions
- Exchange of professors and research staff as well as other forms of co-operation with universities abroad⁹⁷

With the assistance of the European Union a WUS (World University Service) office was established in Sarajevo in October 1994 with the aim of implementing the programme 'Academic Lifeline for Bosnia and Herzegovina'. Different projects have been implemented, including the 'Teaching Support Programme'⁹⁸ and a programme called 'Ideas for Actions'.⁹⁹

Lack of qualified teachers.

Since the beginning of the war, the education system in Bosnia has been suffering from an acute shortage of qualified teachers. Many teachers have left the country. Others were enrolled in the armed forces, died during the war or left their professions for more lucrative positions since teachers' salaries are extremely low, as outlined in Section 6.0 in the main text of our report. A successful pilot project was launched by the Soros Foundation in 1994. The aim of this project was to encourage teachers from primary and secondary schools to submit proposals for action that would improve the education system and teaching quality. Some 200 small grants were provided for projects in mathematics, drama, art, ecology and foreign languages. As a result of this project, teachers designed valuable programmes for children in different subjects. The grant was a very important stimulus for teachers who have been working without payment or for low salaries for several years.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Before the war the University of Sarajevo had strong links with 32 universities abroad. With the beginning of the war these links were broken. Initial contact during the war was realised through a French association - a student movement for aid for Sarajevo with the aim of establishing inter-university co-operation. In 1994 links were established with 15 European universities. ('The University of Sarajevo during the war and in the post-war period' (Information from the Internet)).

⁹⁸ The aim of the programme was to support professors and provide assistance in the Universities of Sarajevo, Tuzla and Mostar. It was implemented with the assistance of the European Union, Austria and The Netherlands (WUS in Sarajevo, Information from the Internet).

⁹⁹ The purpose of this programme has been to provide funds for scholarships for students in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This programme has been sponsored by the Austrian and Dutch governments (WUS in Sarajevo, Information from the Internet).

¹⁰⁰ 'Education in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Priorities for Recovery', loc. cit.

Higher educational establishments in Bosnia also face severe lack of research and teaching staff. There is a serious 'brain drain' problem since the most efficient university staff have better career prospects abroad. According to official data, about 60% of the university researchers or staff closely associated with scientific work are no longer doing their research in Bosnian educational establishments.¹⁰¹ In the University of Sarajevo, of approximately 1,500 teaching staff before the war, only about 900 remain.

Assistance to the Ministry of Education. Provision of textbooks and educational materials and curriculum development.

In the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina the Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sport has continued to exist under the very difficult circumstances imposed by the war. Similar ministries have begun to emerge in the other cantons (regions), but their resources are very limited.¹⁰² During 1993 and 94 the Ministry of Education has developed through the Pedagogical Institute in Sarajevo detailed curriculum revision¹⁰³ and textbooks for the schools. In 1994-95 the Ministry of Education succeeded in publishing 80 new textbook titles (1.8 million copies) which have been distributed free of charge to pupils in Bosnia, and currently a further 73 titles are planned. Different organisations such as UNICEF,¹⁰⁴ UNESCO, the Soros Foundation and some NGOs have provided notable emergency assistance to the Ministry of Education in textbook production. At the request of the Ministry of Education and the Pedagogical Institute UNICEF sponsored a conference that was concerned with education policy and the financing of the education system.

Currently, education in Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as in the other states of the former Yugoslavia reflects 'national' policies. National history, language and literature have become significant parts of the school curriculum. In 1994 the Pedagogical Institute of the Ministry of

¹⁰¹ Dizdar, op. cit.

¹⁰² In Tuzla, for instance, the Ministry was formed in October 1994, and five persons among the staff had responsibility for education along with a small Pedagogical Institute. (Seth Spaulding & Rob Fuderich, 'The Education Sector in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Possible Long-term Options for Education Policy, Planning and Development Assistance', 5.11.95 (Information from the Internet).

¹⁰³ The Pedagogical Institute wrote a very detailed three-volume curriculum revision document that included the curriculum plans and detailed programmes. Authors then developed papers following these plans and detailed programmes. The manuscripts were submitted to a competition and the winning papers were selected by evaluation committees that included three persons for each subject, one from the Ministry, one expert from a university and one experienced teacher (ibid.).

¹⁰⁴ UNICEF funded the production of mathematics textbooks for first and second grade students. It has also sponsored curriculum guides for teachers working with children with disabilities and special needs ('Education in Bosnia-Hrzegovina. Priorities for recovery', loc. cit.).

Education made important changes in the curriculum. The main objective was to include such new disciplines as Bosnian history, culture and language.¹⁰⁵ The problem of the language of instruction in schools has been significant for the promotion of the new education policy. Within Bosnia, people who speak the same dialect of Serbo-Croat describe the language they speak as Croatian, Serbian or Bosnian, according to their nationality. Before the war Serbo-Croat or Croato-Serbian was used in Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia with some regional pronunciation variations. Currently there are three 'separate' languages in Bosnia. The differences between these languages are not very noticeable and people have no difficulties in understanding one another. However, the Croats are updating the vocabulary of the Croatian language. At the same time, the Bosnians are emphasising the differences of the Bosnian language which now replaces Serbo-Croat in secondary schools.

Severe financial constraints continue to be a significant obstacle for the Ministry of Education's activities. During the war, there were no regular funds for educational development and generally teachers have been working as volunteers.

Throughout Bosnia UNICEF has been distributing primary school and pre-school materials as well as teacher aid kits. In the Zenica area, for example, 84,000 pupils were each given an education kit including notebooks, pencils, erasers, sharpeners and rulers.¹⁰⁶

Displaced children.

There are an estimated 1,327, 000 displaced persons in Bosnia and many of them are children. As a result of the circumstances of the war and the location of occupied territories most of these displaced persons moved from the rural areas to the cities. Consequently, the displaced population face difficulties in adjusting to life in new areas. This problem exerts a very negative impact on education, as these children sometimes do not have access to education. It is essential to establish programmes to improve acceptance of displaced children in communities and schools.¹⁰⁷

105 'Education in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Priorities for recovery', loc. cit.

106 UNICEF, Information from the Internet, 29.9.95.

107 'Education in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Priorities for Recovery', loc. cit.

Psychological reconstruction and confidence building.

A unique radio programme, 'Radio Zid', has been created to provide some education for children in Bosnia. This station broadcasts a daily 90-minute music, discussion, and educational programme, including such topics as mental health, conflict resolution and mine awareness. Children can also act out dramatised roles to help them cope with war-related problems. UNICEF has been supporting these programmes since June 1993 as well as delivering tapes to Mostar, Gorazde, Tuzla, Vitez and Visoko. In Mostar a similar radio programme is being run with the assistance of the University of London.

Psycho-social programmes are being carried out with UNICEF assistance throughout Bosnia. They are intended for children who have been traumatised by the shelling, loss of parents or the witnessing of atrocities. UNICEF has distributed special 'psycho-social kits' that contain instructions for care providers as well as children's games, water-colours, etc.¹⁰⁸

One of UNPROFOR's projects in Bosnia has been concerned with the promotion of mine-awareness education for approximately 2,800 children in 15 towns.

Adult educators also suffer from psychological stress. It was found that some 80% of teachers have experienced some sort of psychological trauma. War-disabled people need special attention. The situation is worsened by the fact that many experienced psychiatrists have left the country. One of UNESCO's emergency projects, 'HOPE for Sarajevo' has been concerned with the provision of psychotherapeutic care and educational-professional training for war-disabled young people and young amputees. This project has included the training of mostly young and inexperienced Bosnian therapists and doctors to enable them to carry out the effective physical and psychological rehabilitation of war-disabled people. 'HOPE for Sarajevo' has been affiliated with the UNHCR relief programme for Bosnia-Herzegovina since October 1993.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ UNICEF, Information from the Internet, 29.9.95.

¹⁰⁹ HOPE '87, 'HOPE for Sarajevo', in co-operation with UNESCO, 1994.

Conclusion.

Currently Bosnia's education system is in great need of assistance. With the help of UNICEF and other donor agencies the new national and local authorities have to respond to such urgent needs as repair of school buildings, promotion of basic educational materials, emergency teacher training and revision of textbooks, as well as the development of a curriculum open to peace and tolerance.

Donor aid for the education system in Bosnia-Herzegovina should include assistance not only for short-term but also for the long-term development in education so important for the future evolution of a country. In November 1994 Seth Spaulding (University of Pittsburgh) and Rob Fuderich (UNICEF) conducted a special analysis of the education sector in Bosnia-Herzegovina with the purpose of helping the Ministry of Education explore medium- and long-term educational issues and preparing a brief sector review that would be of help to donor agencies. The aim of this mission was to anticipate future developments of the education system in Bosnia, to produce certain recommendations, and to identify possible technical co-operation projects involving:

- policy, planning, management and management information systems
- curriculum and textbook planning, innovation and development
- student assessment and examination development
- teacher education planning, innovation and development
- technical and vocational education innovation and development
- a university planning, development and administration project;
- possible options for the privatisation of education ¹¹⁰

It is very important to implement these recommendations through strong projects. For example, the University of Pittsburgh/UNICEF programme in educational policy, planning and technical co-operation in Bosnia-Herzegovina was initiated in 1995. This programme has been designed

¹¹⁰ Spaulding, op. cit.

as sustainable, integrated and interactive. One of its main aims has been to facilitate the transition to long-range planning, management and administration in education.¹¹¹

¹¹¹ E. Gottlieb & L. Cohen, 'Emergency response versus sustainable support. The Case of Teacher Education in Bosnia', paper presented at the 40th Annual Comparative and International Education Society Conference, Williamsburg, VA, 6-10 March, 1996.

Appendix II
Case Study: Rwanda

Rwanda Fact File. ¹¹²

<i>Population 1993</i>	<i>7.8 million</i>
<i>Population in August 1995</i>	<i>4.8 million</i>
<i>Killed in genocide/war</i>	<i>1.0 million</i>
<i>Refugees outside country</i>	<i>2.0 million</i>
<i>Children under 16 in 1993</i>	<i>3.7 million</i>
<i>Primary school children in 1993</i>	<i>1.1 million</i>
<i>Children orphaned/lost/separated</i>	<i>900, 000</i>
<i>Children under 17 in the army</i>	<i>4,000</i>
<i>Children in detention</i>	<i>1,028</i>

Background to the Social Upheaval in Rwanda 1990-1994

On 1 October 1990, 4000¹¹³ Batutsi refugees calling themselves the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF),¹¹⁴ deserted from President Musereni's army in Uganda and attacked northern Rwanda from Uganda; almost four years later, on 6 July 1994, a RPF-dominated government took over in Kigali, the capital of Rwanda. Although the rebels declared initially in 1990 that the political reform process in the country was inadequate and demanded that President Habyarimana as well as his counterpart from Burundi should go, many believe that the reason was simpler - namely, an attempt to take over the government of the country.¹¹⁵

¹¹² TES, 18.8.95, p. 8.

¹¹³ Statistics vary in terms of the number of soldiers involved. David Waller speaks of 4000 soldiers in Rwanda Which Way Now? Oxfam UK, 1993, while the TES of 18. 9. 95 mentions 10,000.

¹¹⁴ RPF is a creation of the Tutsi refugees who fled Rwanda, mainly between 1959 and 1966. Over the years the desire to return to Rwanda of the 600,000 refugees, including their descendants in Uganda, Burundi, Zaire and Tanzania remained strong (Historical Perspective: Some Explanatory Factors, The Nordic Africa Institute, December 1995, p.34). The political change in Uganda after 1986 and the involvement of Tutsis in the consolidation process provided a good framework for the planning of military innovations.

¹¹⁵ For a detailed analysis of the background of the war, see Tor Sellström & Lennart Wohlgemuth, 'The Tragedy in Rwanda in a Historical Perspective: Some Explanatory Factors', The Nordic Africa Institute, December 1995; Napoleon Abdulai (ed.), Genocide in Rwanda. Background and Current Situation (Africa Research and Information Centre, London, 1994).

After spectacular successes during the first week of the war, the RPF met resistance from government troops, aided by France, Belgium and Zaire.¹¹⁶ Subsequently, the war turned into a protracted guerrilla conflict, and between November 1990 and July 1992 the rebels gradually took a strip of land along a length of Rwanda's border with Uganda. A cease-fire was negotiated in Arusha,¹¹⁷ Tanzania in July 1992, but the ensuing 'Arusha negotiations' dragged on interminably, owing to fighting between parties.

When power-sharing arrangements were finally agreed in January 1993, the extremist Bahutu Party, the *Comité pour la Défense de la République* (CDR), emerged without any cabinet posts and, together with elements of the National Republican Movement for Democracy (MRND),¹¹⁸ some of its members responded by killing political opponents and Batutsi in Gisenyi and Ruhengeri. As a result, in February, the RPF - then perhaps 12,000 strong - renewed its attacks and doubled its territory in three days.¹¹⁹ The conflict in Rwanda that led to war and genocide can be described as a 'struggle between an increasingly worn-out regime and its challengers'.¹²⁰ The one-party system was seen more and more as the obstacle rather than the road to further development.

On 6 April 1994, the plane crash in which the President of Rwanda, Juvenal Habyarimana was killed unleashed waves of massacres¹²¹ and within a period of three months at least 500,000 people were killed.¹²² The first target of the genocide were Tutsi men and boys, regardless of age. Educated Tutsi men and women were particularly targeted as the university was 'cleansed'.

As of 18 July 1994 the new government of the RPF had taken over the leadership of Rwanda, a country now in shock and complete economic and educational disruption. With an economy that has virtually collapsed and nearly all institutions of local and central government destroyed, the task for the reconstruction of education seems daunting. Sellström and

¹¹⁶ Waller, op. cit.

¹¹⁷ For discussion of the Arusha process, see Tor Sellström & Lennart Wohlgemuth, 'The Tragedy in Rwanda in a Historical Perspective: Some Explanatory Factors', The Nordic Africa Institute, December 1995, pp. 43-49.

¹¹⁸ MRND is the successor to the National Revolutionary Movement for Development - the only party permitted to operate between 1976 and 1990. Its founder and President, Habyarimana, dominated the political scene for approximately 20 years (Waller, op.cit., p.11).

¹¹⁹ Waller, op.cit., p.11.

¹²⁰ Sellström, op.cit., p. 36.

¹²¹ For discussion on the possible causes and structures behind the genocide, see Sellström, p. 54.

¹²² Sellström, op.cit., pp. 53-58.

Wohlgemuth confirm that 'the current political situation gives little hope for a peaceful long-term development of Rwanda'.¹²³

Inescapably, the war has had a devastating impact on the Rwandan school system. Before the 1990-1991 civil war and subsequent genocide in 1994, Rwanda was regarded as one of Africa's educational achievements, with more than 60 per cent of children in primary school, and a government which spent 22 per cent of its national budget on primary education.¹²⁴ Unfortunately, some of the factors which incited the war can also be detected in the school system: only 6 per cent of children could enter secondary education. The frustration was heightened by a biased quota system for secondary and further education, aptly spelled out by an Oxfam analyst: 'No one feels they are being treated fairly. Education is falling between quality and scope . . . it is neither democratic nor equipping the student with skills . . . It is no longer a guaranteed passport to better life'.¹²⁵ The reconstruction of education in Rwanda should therefore address an extremely broad range of issues that will be discussed in the ensuing section.

What Needs to be Done in Terms of Educational Reconstruction?

According to a survey of the literature on educational reconstruction processes currently underway in Rwanda, different interrelated phases can be identified, namely:

- an emergency and post-emergency phase which dealt mainly with displaced persons within Rwanda, as well as those who had fled to neighbouring countries after the genocide in mid-1994¹²⁶
- immediate short-term educational needs for people who are currently resettling in Rwanda
- long-term educational reconstruction in order to stabilise the country and provide a skilled labour force in order to enhance economic growth

¹²³ Ibid., p.63.

¹²⁴ John Vidal, 'Life After Death', *Guardian Education*, 18.4.95, p.6.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ For the priorities of educational provision in this emergency phase, see Frauke Riller, 'Regional Emergency Education Mission: Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda, Zaire (27 October - 24 November 1994)', Mission Report UNHCR, December 1994.

Physical Reconstruction

A widespread outcome of the war and genocide in Rwanda is the destruction of the buildings. When the Minister of Education in the new government, Pierre-Céléstin Rwigyema, took office in mid-1994, reminders of the war were evident in his office building - huge holes were in the walls; he had no windows and his garden was strewn with files; there were only two chairs in the ministry, and no paper, money, transport, or records.¹²⁷

The expansion of schooling is crucial, especially in terms of secondary schooling, as only 6 per cent of the primary school leavers were privileged enough to enter secondary school. The new government has prioritised the further increase of schooling - when and if resources permit.¹²⁸ In realising this, the government admits that the current expensive boarding school system for secondary schooling is no longer a viable and sustainable model for the country's demand for skilled labour, but new neighbourhood schools would have to be built in several areas.

In the current situation, the emphasis for physical reconstruction is on the rebuilding of damaged schools. Many secondary schools are still too badly damaged and remain closed, whilst those that have opened experience a shortage of laboratories and other teaching equipment. Four vocational schools that have been badly damaged are currently being renovated with German aid.¹²⁹

Ideological Reconstruction

The reform of Rwanda's school system enjoys priority from the new government which was formed on 18 July 1995 and which condemns the system for encouraging many of the intolerant attitudes which led to the genocide in mid-1994 and helped to establish the single-party rule of the former regime. The Ministry of Education is well aware that projects which encourage the democratisation of education as well as education for peace are paramount. UNESCO has been approached by the Ministry to assist with programmes that will facilitate and promote education for peace and tolerance. Moreover, the Ministry wants UNESCO, in

¹²⁷ Vidal, op.cit.

¹²⁸ TES, 18.8.95, p. 8.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

co-operation with educationists in Rwanda and other agencies and experts, to devise a long-term curriculum in which democratic principles are embedded.¹³⁰

One of the first decisions that had been taken by the new Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education was the suspension of subjects such as history and political education or civics, because of the biased perspective of the teaching in those areas of the curriculum. Dr Gerard Ngendahimana, a civil servant responsible for the implementation of these reforms, confirms that work is currently being done in introducing a history curriculum free from bias, stressing that different ethnic groups should live together peacefully. Owing to the country's dependence on foreign aid, reforms that are brought in will be carefully examined by the international community. The government is also looking at the reconstruction of teaching methods, and plans to lay more emphasis on the skills of critical thinking. Plans are being made to teach children to question authority creatively and take responsibility in democratic decision-making processes.¹³¹

An important step in ideological reconstruction, eradicating obstacles towards the path to reconciliation, is the suspension of a most controversial selection process for secondary places, resulting in the so-called 'national' policy under the new government.¹³² The selection process is now on the basis of a purely academic selection admissions system.

Moreover, national identity cards do not state the ethnic background of Rwandans, and children are encouraged to see their identity foremost as Rwandans. Thus education in which a redefinition of identity is to the fore should be encouraged by teachers and fostered through the curriculum.

UNICEF's programme co-ordinator, Thomas Bergman, warns that one of the daunting tasks the new government needs to deal with in the process of ideological reconstruction is securing stability within the country, which would in turn assist the process of economic recovery. He asserts that Rwanda is still threatened by an army in exile which is undergoing military training in Zaire at the moment. In addition, the possibility of further ethnic unrest between Hutu and Tutsi in certain areas such as Burundi impact on the prevailing political

¹³⁰ UNESCO, interview, 10.5.96.

¹³¹ TES, 18.8.95, p. 8.

¹³² Competition for places in Rwanda's secondary schools, and highly selective boarding schools was fierce. The 'national' policy allowed the ministry to set quotas according to ethnic, regional and socio-economic background. This discriminated against the Tutsi and urban families and favoured the Hutu-dominated rural areas (TES, 18.8.95, p. 8).

situation. Bergman underlines the fact that the new Rwandan government's chances of success 'depend on its ability to bring about reconciliation after the horrors of last year [1994]. The role of the schools, and a commitment to equal opportunities will be vital'. He further emphasises that 'the government has to be sure that there are no books, there are no documents, there is no training, no teaching, where there is any discrimination'.¹³³

Psychological reconstruction

A prevalent feature which the literature on Rwanda reveals is the acute psychological trauma that still prevails among children. The genocide which commenced in April 1994 has been described by many as among the worst for such a short period of time.¹³⁴ A circumstance that exacerbates the situation is that survivors of the genocide reported that in some cases teachers murdered children who attended their own classes.¹³⁵ Moreover, schools were sought out as sanctuaries at the height of the genocide, only to become the scene of some of the worst massacres. The tragedy has therefore left deep scars in pupils' attitudes and perceptions of the schooling system. UNESCO and UNDP, as well as various NGOs, are introducing special trauma programmes. A special children's training centre and school near Butare has been opened for traumatised child soldiers who have witnessed violent scenes of war and seen mass graves.¹³⁶

There is also a need to train teachers to deal with traumatised children, since many have behavioural problems. Agathe, a teacher in Rwanda states: 'What children need most is a routine with kindness and sensible discipline . . . they have nightmares or won't talk to anyone. We are learning as we go how to help them'.¹³⁷

¹³³ TES, 18.8.95, p.8.

¹³⁴ Sellström, op.cit., p. 53.

¹³⁵ Jeremy Sutcliffe, 'Tragedy in the Heart of Darkness', TES, 18.8.95, p.7.

¹³⁶ Jeremy Sutcliffe, 'Traumatised Child Soldiers Return to School', TES, 18.8.95, p.7.

¹³⁷ Guardian, 1.6.95, p.15.

Provision of Materials and Curricular Reconstruction

The launching by UNICEF, together with UNESCO, of an emergency teaching pack (TEP) to aid in the provision of materials has played a vital role in reconstructing primary schools in Rwanda. In addition to this 'mobile classroom', which includes slates, pencils and copybooks provided for almost 600,000 children, UNICEF has given a £20 'sign up' payment to 15,000 teachers and volunteers as an incentive to teach in primary schools.¹³⁸ UNESCO has shipped in 9,000 cases and trained a core group of teachers to use the TEP. For most Rwandan children, the basic education which is provided by means of the emergency teaching pack is the only education they receive one year after the war (See Section 5.2 of our main report).

The Ministry of Education, in partnership with UNESCO and other agencies, is currently working on long-term curriculum reform¹³⁹ initiatives and they meet regularly for conferences and workshops in Rwanda.¹⁴⁰

Human Resources

The new Rwandan government, which has embarked on the process of opening primary schools since September 1994, is experiencing a critical shortage of skilled teachers. It is estimated that approximately 60 per cent of Rwandan teachers have died or fled to neighbouring countries.¹⁴¹ This is exacerbated by the fact that Rwanda had experienced a shortage of skilled teachers even before the war and genocide between October 1990 and April 1994. Only 61 per cent of primary teachers were qualified, with the remainder of the teaching staff being mainly older children with secondary education. The figure since 1994 has fallen to 48 percent.

A vital source of qualified new teachers since 1994 has come from Tutsi refugee families who, owing to pressure from the Ugandan government, have repatriated to Rwanda after the war. Most of these new teachers were educated in Uganda, where 250,000 Rwandans have settled after previous persecutions dating back to 1959. Their coming to Rwanda helps to

¹³⁸ Vidal, op.cit.

¹³⁹ Detailed discussions on curriculum reform can be found in Gwang-Chol Chang in '*La Réhabilitation et la Réconstruction du Système Éducatif au Rwanda*' UNESCO, 1994.

¹⁴⁰ UNESCO, interview, 10.5.96.

¹⁴¹ Vidal, op.cit.

ensure that children in some primary and all secondary schools will be offered the chance to learn English and French.¹⁴²

Realising the vital long-term need of human resource development, the new government is planning a programme for teacher training which would be funded by the World Bank, with assistance from the United Nations and various other agencies.¹⁴³ However, the dire shortage of skills illustrates the fact that progress in effective teacher training will be a slow and cumbersome process.

Population and Demography

Following the genocide in Rwanda, approximately 2 million Rwandans fled to neighbouring countries, especially to Tanzania and Zaire.¹⁴⁴ Since a substantial proportion of the refugee population consists of school-age children, education provision became paramount. The emphasis on the right of refugee children to education and the urgency of providing it as early as practicable was clearly stated by UNHCR's Executive Committee (EXCOM). The 'Ngara'-model in which the senior education officers of UNESCO-PEER, together with UNHCR, UNICEF, GTZ and NGO colleagues, formed an Emergency Education team in Rwandan refugee camps in Tanzania was implemented, which rested on the policy of education for repatriation, i.e. the use of the curriculum of the country of origin and refugee teachers, pending clarification of durable solutions. The Ngara model includes

- inter-agency collaboration
- data collection
- a phased approach
- teacher re-professionalisation¹⁴⁵

In responding to the educational needs of refugees outside as well as displaced persons within Rwanda, UNICEF joined UNESCO in its efforts to develop an interim link between the absence of schooling and the resumption of regular schooling. The Teacher Emergency Pack (TEP) is utilised as an emergency and immediate response mechanism in the emergency phase.

¹⁴² TES, 18.8.95, p 8.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ For more information on the effect of the war on refugees, see Sellström, (op.cit.), pp. 59-61.

¹⁴⁵ For a full report on the Ngara-model in terms of education in refugee camps, see Riller, loc.cit.

Another growing concern according to Sutcliffe is the vast number of children still detained, a year after the war has ended, in overcrowded jails in Rwanda.¹⁴⁶ Although children in prison camps such as Kigali receive basic education, they live in cramped and sordid conditions. Rwanda's judicial system is still being rebuilt, and a number of children's cases are under review, with the process being sped up by lawyers employed by the children's charity UNICEF.

Spry-Leverton¹⁴⁷ states that a big influx of street children is expected in Rwanda's capital Kigali as some of the 100,000 children orphaned return after the war. Estimates of the children sleeping rough range from 600 to 4,000, depending on whether the children are documented or not. There is concern among relief agencies that the adults who are accompanying these children back to Rwanda will not be able to manage to feed them in the expensive city Kigali, and might thus abandon some of them. However, UNICEF, in partnership with the UNHCR, Save the Children and other relief agencies, is working with the Ministry of Rehabilitation in Rwanda to cope with the expected mounting numbers. Likewise, the *Centre d'Accueil*, or Welcome Centre, funded by Caritas,¹⁴⁸ a Catholic aid agency, has established three huts which function as a job-skills training centre for street children. Children participate in recreational activities as well as learning job-skills such as carpentry, horticulture and tailoring.

Organisational Frameworks for Reconstruction

Partnership over the past year among aid organisations, foreign expertise and the new government in Rwanda has made significant progress in addressing the short- and long-term educational needs in Rwanda.

The UNHCR report¹⁴⁹ on the regional emergency education mission to Rwanda states that 'an unusual degree of inter-agency collaboration' was cultivated in Ngara. This especially

¹⁴⁶ Sutcliffe reports that more than 50,000 people are in prison, awaiting trial in 13 jails designed to take only 12,000. The worst overcrowding is at Gitarama prison, where ten prisoners are herded into space created for only one person. A total of 1,028 children are in prison in the country, including 193 who have not been charged, Sutcliffe, loc. cit., pp. 7-9.

¹⁴⁷ Information from the Internet, 22.3.96.

¹⁴⁸ The first centre to cater for street children opened in 1988 funded by Caritas, and by 1993 Caritas was assisting two more homes, including a residential home for girls accommodating 30 boarders.

¹⁴⁹ Riller, op.cit.

applied to three UN agencies - UNHCR, UNICEF and GTZ - whose mandates encompass the relevant educational sector. The Ngara experience also shows that for effective collaboration with NGOs it is advisable to deal with a limited number of NGOs as implementing partners and accord them definite responsibilities in the education field. Thus, while each NGO handled education as part of its broader framework for community services within its designated refugee camp, the education sector was given considerable autonomy, which furthered the opportunities for inter-agency collaboration. The approval of the Tanzanian government in legitimating and approving the educational programmes run by various NGOs proved to be vital.

In order jointly to appraise the educational challenges in the emergency and post-conflict context in Rwanda, senior educationists and experts from UNESCO and UNHCR headquarters met at the UNICEF-Geneva Office from 6-7 October 1994.¹⁵⁰

Subsequently, in 1995 major conferences and workshops in co-operation with the government and under the auspices of UNESCO, in which various NGOs and relief agencies have been involved, addressed the short- and especially long-term needs for educational reconstruction in Rwanda.¹⁵¹

Conclusion

As several political commentators have underlined, the current scope of the political situation in Rwanda leaves little hope for peaceful long-term development. In a seminar in Uppsala in early 1995, Catherine Newbury summarised the preconditions for reconciliation, mentioning the following key points that are imperative for the country's future:¹⁵²

- end the legacy of violence and culture of impunity
- material reconstruction
- broad political solutions, including orderly repatriation of refugees
- reconstitution of the social fabric

¹⁵⁰ For a further outline assessing educational needs and programmes that have been implemented in certain refugee camps, see Riller, loc. cit.

¹⁵¹ UNESCO, interview, 10.5.96.

¹⁵² Sellström, op.cit., pp. 63-64.

In all of these daunting challenges, education will play a major role. Thus, the prioritising of educational reconstruction should remain both a short- and long-term goal of the new government in partnership with aid organisations and the wider international community.

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In the Bibliography (pp. 66 - 80) the following codes are used to identify the countries and/or particular issues for which individual items listed are relevant.

AFR	-	Africa
ANG	-	Angola
ARM	-	Armenia
AZE	-	Azerbaijan
BOS	-	Bosnia-Herzegovina
CAU	-	Caucasus
CHE	-	Chechnya
CRO	-	Croatia
EAE	-	Eastern Europe
ETH	-	Ethiopia
GEO	-	Georgia
GER	-	Germany
IRQ	-	Iraq
LEB	-	Lebanon
LIB	-	Liberia
MOZ	-	Mozambique
PAL	-	Palestine
RSA	-	South Africa
RWA	-	Rwanda
SUD	-	Sudan
TAJ	-	Tajikistan
CO	-	co-operation
G	-	general
HR	-	human resources
IR	-	ideological reconstruction
MC	-	material and curricular resources
OF	-	organisational framework
PD	-	population and demography
PH	-	physical reconstruction
PY	-	psychological reconstruction
RE	-	reform

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